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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

SUCCESS OF GULF COOPERATION VIEWED AS MODEL FOR OTHER REGIONAL AGREEMENTS

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 669, 25 Sep 81 pp 33-35

[Article by Faruq Hasanayn Makhluf: "Gulf Cooperation Council, Experiment and Elements of Success; Success of Gulf Unity Can Constitute Model for Other Regional Unity Experiments in Arab Homeland; Gulf Agreement Is Distinguished by Its Nature, Motives, Components and Historical Background Insofar as Guaranteed Ultimate Results Are Concerned"]

[Text] To start with, it can be said that establishment of the Cooperation Council has crowned many years of organized bilateral or multilateral cooperation among the Gulf states in various spheres, especially the political, economic and cultural. Moreover, all this has a background of interaction among the area's peoples throughout many generations and eras that witnessed actual cooperation, joint interests and a constant exchange among the peoples at various levels. Furthermore, this experiment comes in the wake of tens of experiments and endeavors for regional or semiregional cooperation in the Arab arena or in other parts of the Third World--experiments and endeavors seeking to attain one form or another of cooperation, integration or unity. But all those attempts failed to succeed and fell apart halfway through or were stillborn and did not go beyond the paper they were written on. Thus, the Cooperative Council finds at its disposal a vast stock of experiments from which it can benefit and gain lessons and experience.

The importance and significance of the Gulf experience is not confined to what the resources of these states represent to the states themselves or to others, to the dynamic economic and social development they are undergoing or to the sensitive strategic position they occupy on the world map. The importance and significance of this experiment stems from the fact that this area represents the eastern wing of the Arab nation, that it plays a major role in the common Arab action, represents an important weight in this action and shoulders a heavy responsibility in it. Moreover, the Gulf area plays a vital and essential role in the sphere of Islamic cooperation, third world cooperation and international cooperation. The final communique issued by the first Gulf summit underlines these aspects and also underlines the commitment of the Gulf action to these tasks.

The success of Gulf cooperation and integration will mean a lot to the countries of the Arab and Islamic worlds because it will enable them to have a successful experiment that it is possible to repeat in the future, especially in the Arab area, which possesses real potential for regional integration. Success of the

Gulf experiment will give the Arab area the new momentum it needs. Examples of the semiregional groups likely to engage in similar serious experiments or to repeat previous experiments, but on new bases, are: The countries of North Africa or the Greater Maghreb (Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania) and the Eastern Mediterranean Arab countries (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine--after a Palestinian state is established). The creation of such major integrated unions within the framework of the broader common Arab action will lay a firm foundation on which a strong and comprehensive Arab integration having the best chances of success can be built in all spheres.

There is, naturally, a strong organic relationship that firmly binds the Gulf action to the common Arab action. This is reflected in the welcome that greeted creation of the Gulf Cooperation Council in the Arab arena. It is evident that the Council's policies and steps confirm the presence of full awareness of this fact and indicate the eagerness of the Council member states to have Gulf cooperation proceed in a line parallel to that of Arab cooperation, to constitute one of the strong links of Arab cooperation and to meet with the comprehensive march and the ultimate goals of this Arab cooperation. What is more, the Council's policies and actions are bringing the Arab steps close to these goals. The fact is that there is no need to point this out [that Gulf cooperation complements and serves common Arab cooperation] because it is axiomatic in Gulf action and because it is one of the prominent landmarks of this action. This is made fully clear and is underlined in the final communique on the meeting of the Gulf leaders in Abu Dhabi and in the statements of the top officials of these states. It has also been highlighted in the statements of the Cooperation Council's secretary general.

All this confirms that the Gulf states consider themselves a part of the greater Arab body and that they build their policy and their actions on the basis of their firm faith in the destiny of Arab unity and the unity of the cause of development and progress in the Arab homeland. They also build this policy and this action on their full conviction that completion of the development tasks is a collective Arab responsibility that is realized within the framework of an effective integration of the Arab economic resources in their various shapes and forms.

Distinguishing Features of Common Gulf Action

The common Gulf action is characterized by unique qualities that make it different from all the patterns and forms of existing cooperation and from the forms and patterns that may develop in various other parts of the world, whether between groups of advanced countries or of developing countries. Gulf cooperation has guarantees of success that are not available to other experiments.

These qualities can be summed up as follows:

First, similarity in the economic and social structures and in the elements of scarcity or abundance in the natural resources of the Gulf States, and, consequently, similarity in the problems and challenges of development facing them now and in the future and close similarity in the solutions they adopt to deal with these problems and challenges.

Second, similarity between the political and social systems and between the policies and the plans formulated to organize their economic and social life.

Third, the presence of firm ties founded on the unity of the Islamic faith in its capacity as the basis of their life and their rule of conduct, the identical traditions, customs, values, social heritage and social mores and even intricate relationships of marriage and the presence of branches of the same family in more than one Gulf state at the same time. Moreover, the Gulf peoples have throughout history encountered common experiences that have left their impact and imprint on the relationship between rulers and the citizens in these states.

Fourth, these firm ties among the Gulf states have spread in these states the spirit of a single family abounding with trust. This spirit has been reflected in the course of cooperation between the area's peoples for many generations. This situation has not been affected by the rise of numerous political entities in the area in the form of independent states. The practical translation of this spirit is embodied in the emergence of distinctive characteristics in Gulf relations, such as the characteristics of constant consultations between the area's leaders on various internal and external issues, of the absence of regional clashes and of not allowing any transient differences, such as those that may develop between any two states, to turn into deep conflicts or to affect negatively their existing strong ties and fundamental interests. Moreover, one of the characteristics of this family spirit has been that of not allowing any foreign forces to infiltrate into the area or to impose their domination on it. Consequently, this has made it possible to prevent transformation of the Gulf into a sphere of influence for any major power and to prevent as much as possible transfer of international tension to the area, even though it is an extremely sensitive area in the international strategies and ambitions of the major powers.

Fifth, the Gulf states maintain a firm foreign policy line that adheres to nonalignment with any major power. This doesn't just apply to the area's affiliation with the nonaligned movement, because this movement has lost most of its content and its vitality and perhaps the reason for its existence. What is meant here is that the Gulf states actually exercise a foreign policy that is free to the maximum and is distinguished by eagerness to establish a balance in the area's relations at the international level and to maintain the highest degree of freedom of movement in dealing with international powers, whether the influence of these powers on the international arena is economic, military or political. An indication of this free foreign policy line is the welcome given to the formation of the Cooperation Council by all the international powers and forces and international organizations.

Sixth, one of the traditional features characterizing the formulation of policies and the making of decisions in the Gulf states, and in the sphere of Gulf cooperation, is realism and a practical approach in dealing with various issues, in discussing action plans, in taking practical actions and in not paying much attention to formalities and in being content with just the necessary degree of procedural activity. What draws attention in this regard is the issuance of extremely important resolutions by the first Gulf summit and, before the summit, by the meetings of the ministers of foreign affairs and ministers of finance and economy in preparing for the summit. The resolutions were issued with no time wasted in

the labyrinths of formalities and without waiting for completion of the various procedural regulations. What also draws attention is that the Cooperation Council's secretary general started performing his duties as soon as he was chosen for the post by the first Gulf summit and that he performed an important role in the proceedings of that meeting without waiting for formation of the general secretariat. All this indicates the presence of a positive momentum and of a fiery spirit in Council activities--momentum and spirit that are not tied down by red tape and procedural forms, contrary to what is familiar in similar international or regional organizations. Once again, this special Gulf characteristic in regional cooperation is one of the characteristics of the single family--a characteristic that gives this cooperation distinguishing features.

Seventh, one of the well-known traditions of national or joint Gulf action is the tradition of careful study and the deliberate adoption of any important resolution. As already pointed out, the creation of the Council itself was preceded by long and calm consultations between the six states. This tradition gives these states the chance to see clearly the steps they embark upon and the plans they seek to realize in the future within the framework of the Council. On the other hand, this explains why no tensions, independent positions or reservations emerge on the part of any of the Council member states in the course of the Gulf march. The fact is that this special characteristic is one of the most important guarantees of the success of Gulf cooperation and is a requirement for success in any similar experiments. The absence of this characteristic in other experiments has been the cause of the failure they have encountered. This failure is due to the hasty adoption of ambitious and unstudied resolutions that clash with reality as soon as they confront it and then produce nothing but disappointment and frustration.

Eighth, added to the previous point and tied to it is the presence of another characteristic serving the Gulf action, namely, that the Cooperation Council did not start from scratch but had been preceded and prepared for by years of constant coordination and integration action that laid down firm foundations for Gulf cooperation in the various sectors. The coordination and integration action had taken various applied or institutional forms and bilateral or multilateral formulas. This is because the preceding years had witnessed the firm establishment of the Gulf tradition of mutual consultation on political, defense and other affairs, the conclusion of a large number of bilateral cooperation agreements in all spheres, the creation of numerous coordination committees and the holding of regular high-level ministerial conferences.

A number of collective Gulf organizations had also been set up in more than one sphere and a number of multilateral or bilateral joint companies had been established with government, private or joint funds.

Where Does Gulf Action Begin Within the Framework of the Cooperation Council?

As already made obvious, Gulf cooperation began years before the creation of the Cooperation Council. However, the establishment of the Council represents an important and fundamental turning point in more than one aspect of this cooperation:

First, it means moving the common Gulf action from the phase of cooperation to the phase of integration. This is underlined by the statements and documents establishing the Council--statements and documents saying that the goal behind establishing the Council is to achieve linkage, coordination and integration among the member states.

Second, the integration concept means simply that Gulf action in every sphere will be subject to a strategy with clear-cut features and definite steps. However, this concept doesn't necessarily mean the formulation of a general timetable for the phases and priorities of implementation. But it does necessarily imply the formulation of a clear concept reinforced by specific designs for action in every sphere. The integration plans, steps, activities and priorities are then built on these designs.

Third, the matter will require the formulation of a series of specific collective "framework agreements" in every sphere. In these agreements, the ultimate long-range objectives, the phased goals of Gulf action and the means to achieve these goals, will be defined. At a later phase, detailed agreements dealing with every subsidiary sphere separately will emanate from these framework agreements or will be built on them. Efforts have already been started to formulate a unified economic agreement among the Cooperation Council member states. It is no coincidence that the economic field has been chosen for a start. This choice has been made not only because this field is the most vital and important but also because it is the most strongly prepared to start with due to the background it already has--a background that gives this field its quality as a starting point--and, at the same time, because this field will pave the way to numerous other accomplishments in the Gulf advance.

Fourth, the formula of bilateral action between any two Gulf states will have to disappear automatically to be replaced by the formula of multilateral collective action. This is logical and axiomatic in regional integration projects. Once again, the above-mentioned economic agreement represents the live, applied model and the first accomplishment in the advance on this collective path. This will be the task of the five specialized Gulf committees formed by the first Gulf summit.

Fifth, it is essential to set up a strong general secretariat for the Gulf Council to take care of realizing the major future Gulf tasks and to take initiatives in every sphere of action so as to build the Gulf edifice. It is evident that this important goal [of establishing a strong secretariat] arose when the leaders of the Gulf states at the first meeting of their Supreme Council selected 'Abdallah Ya'qub Bisharah, with all his rich experience in the sphere of international action, to become the first secretary general of the Cooperation Council. It is also obvious that this selection is in itself considered an indication of the resolution and determination of the Gulf governments to set up an effective general secretariat that participates positively in managing and in constantly adding to the common Gulf action.

Sixth, it seems that the power to ratify the Gulf agreements to make them valid will move gradually from the hands of the legislative or constitutional authorities of each Gulf state to the hands of the Supreme Council of the Gulf Cooperation

Council, considering that it will represent a power higher than that of the governments and that its resolutions will gain the force of binding automatic application in the provinces of the member countries. This development may be the biggest and most far-reaching in the young Gulf experiment because the experiment thus will have overcome major and sensitive obstacles at which many regional cooperation experiments falter. The shift of this power of ratification is tantamount to a ceding by every state of part of its sovereignty to the supreme joint agencies entrusted with managing the collective cooperation or integration. It is worth nothing that the first Gulf initiative in this sound direction is embodied in the phrase in the text of the draft unified economic agreement stating that "this agreement shall go into force within 4 months of its ratification by the Supreme Council." The draft does not tie the validation to any local constitutional measure in any state.

To conclude, there is a lot more to be said about the common Gulf economic action that the Gulf leaders have chosen to be the gate from which the Gulf cooperation passes to the broad spheres of a future that abounds with bright hopes and great accomplishments serving the Gulf family and the Arab and Islamic family.

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RATIONALE BEHIND GULF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT DISCUSSED

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 672, 23 Oct 81 pp 44-46

[Article by Faruq Hasanayn Makhluf: "AL-YAMAMAH Publishes Exclusive First Details of Gulf Cooperation Council's Economic Agreement"]

[Text] On 15 Rajab 1401 of the Hegira, the finance and economy ministers of the Gulf states held in the city of Dhahran a quiet meeting far from the media lights in which they drew up a document containing general principles for a draft unified economic agreement among the member states of the Cooperation Council. This document contains the structure or the general framework of the form that such an agreement could take. These principles are the principles presented to the first session of the Supreme Council of the Cooperation Council, which was held in Abu Dhabi. The principles gave the leaders a specific idea of the main outline of a Gulf economic agreement. The first Gulf summit approved these principles and considered them a valid starting point and a firm foundation for the new agreement.

Following the summit, the economic officials of the Gulf states began to prepare their perceptions on how to transform the general principles into a detailed and complete agreement in preparation for the next phase--the meeting of ministers of finance and economy of the six states in Riyadh on 6 Sha'ban 1401 of the Hegira. At that meeting, the ministers drew up the first draft unified economic agreement for the Gulf states to replace the existing bilateral economic agreements.

"The Cooperation Council's Ministerial Council approved the draft agreement in its first session, held recently in al-Ta'if, and decided to present the draft to the forthcoming meeting of the Supreme Council in Riyadh. The statement issued by the Ministerial Council declares that the council approved the agreement "in response to the desires of the area's people to eliminate economic barriers between the Cooperation Council member states in order to guarantee the principle of equality among all the citizens."

The fact is that the Gulf economic agreement deserves to get this degree of attention. It can even be said that it represents a historic event and a turning point in Gulf relations.

The question is: Why does the Gulf economic agreement have such great importance? The answer comes from several aspects, the most important being:

First, the agreement represents a transformation from bilateralism to collectivism with all its implications of proceeding on the path of common economic action and of agreeing to deal on the basis of equality, without any consideration for any difference in the weight of this or that state in terms of wealth, population, area, natural resources, investment opportunities, size of the local market or other aspects.

Second, the agreement contains mutual benefits balanced by mutual sacrifices, regardless of the timing of the benefits and the sacrifices. This means that each state is aware in advance that every benefit it gets is offset by a burden it shoulders, even if the burdens are not immediate, and that every burden it shoulders is offset by a benefit it gets, even if the benefit is not immediate. Thus, the member states are confident that there is ultimately a balance between the benefits and the sacrifices and that this balance is realized for them by the agreement, even if only in the medium or long range. This view simultaneously reflects maturity in dealings among the states and their faith in their common objectives and goals and their determination to achieve them. However, the agreement does not disregard the differences in the standards of growth and the priorities of development in the member states and requires that these differences be taken into consideration in its implementation. Moreover, the agreement permits a temporary exemption from the implementation of some of its provisions in any state whenever such an exemption is necessary to deal with certain conditions or circumstances.

Third, unlike previous bilateral agreements, this agreement does not confine itself to tackling spheres connected with economic dealings among the member states but extends beyond them to cover the major local economic sectors and to bind them with each other firmly within the framework of coordination, linkage and integration. The agreement even goes to the point of unifying major rules and regulations in numerous cases.

Fourth, the agreement establishes for the first time the principle of equal treatment for citizens of the members states in regard to participation in economic activity and in various commercial, financial, industrial, professional and other activities. This equality will be realized in two stages: The first is immediate and is embodied in treating the citizens of each Gulf state the same as the local citizens of each state regardless of the differences in regulation and bases of treatment. The second stage is one in which the citizens of all the Gulf states will be subject to the same treatment, a step that will crystallize gradually with the coordination steps and with the unification of the various rules and laws connected with the economic activity.

Fifth, the ultimate goal of the agreement--a goal into which all the measures contained in the agreement flow--is to reach full economic unity among the member states by eliminating all of the economic barriers obstructing the movement of the various economic elements so as to realize the free movement of people, goods and capital.

Sixth, the agreement leads the Gulf economic advance along a resolute path of unification. Moreover, the agreement contains no date for its termination and no provision for withdrawal from it. In addition, it establishes a priority for its application in case there is conflict between its provisions on the one hand and any local laws or regulations in any member state on the other hand.

Agreement: Contents and Given Facts

The agreement consists of seven sections that deal with trade exchange, the movement of individuals and of monies, participation in economic activity, technical cooperation, transportation and communications, financial and monetary cooperation and final rules.

In the sphere of trade exchange, the agreement stresses the full exemption of the trade of goods of national origin from all fees and restrictions when such goods are exchanged by the member states. It calls on each state to treat the products of the other member states as it treats its national products. The agreement also calls for levying a minimal and uniform external customs tariff to be applied to the outside world, for facilitating the passage of any transit goods belonging to any of the other member states without levying any fees or taxes on them, for coordinating the trade relations of the member states with other states and with the other economic groups, for coordinating import and export policies and regulations, for forming a food reserve, for concluding collective agreements with foreign parties in certain cases and for exerting efforts to create a collective force to bolster the negotiating position of the market states vis-a-vis the outside world in some import and export matters.

These measures will lead to increasing the trade volume among the members, reducing import costs, curtailing imported inflation and increasing the Gulf states' share of world trade.

In the sphere of the movement of monies and individuals and of engaging in economic activity, the agreement realizes for all citizens of the member states on an equal basis and without any differentiation or discrimination freedom of movement, ownership, inheritance and bequest and freedom to engage in economic activity and the free movement of capital. It also urges the member states to encourage their private sectors to set up joint projects, thus leading to a linkage of the economic interests of the citizens in the various spheres.

It is worth noting that releasing the economic activities of 11 million Gulf citizens throughout the area is considered an important beginning for flourishing economic activities in the future, for growing Gulf economic activities, for the emergence of hundreds of joint projects in the various economic sectors of production and services, for increased movement of persons and capital among the area's states and for subsequent changes in the pattern of economic activity. This is in addition to attracting foreign capital and technology to participate with Gulf capital in exploiting the new opportunities that will be generated in the area. This in turn will have its effects on development and growth in the Gulf area--effects that will enhance and speed the pace of this development.

In the sphere of development coordination, the agreement calls for establishing development coordination and for harmonizing the development plans of the member states so as to attain economic integration among them. The agreement includes within this framework coordination in all the phases of the oil industry, including production, refining, marketing, processing, pricing, natural gas exploitation, development of energy sources, formulation of unified oil policies and adoption of common positions vis-a-vis the outside world and in international

organizations. The agreement further calls for coordinating the industrial activity and the policies and means leading to industrial development, for diversifying the production base of the member states on an integrated basis, for unifying industrial legislation and regulations, for gearing production toward meeting local needs, for distributing industry among the member states according to relative advantages and economic feasibility, for encouraging the establishment of basic and complementary industries among them and for setting up and subsidizing joint projects in the fields of industry, agriculture and services with public, private or joint capital to achieve economic integration and the meshing of production and common development on sound economic bases.

All this means that the area will enter a new age of development unprecedented elsewhere in the world. It also means that enormous resources will be mobilized to give a major boost to the development process. In its advance, this development will adhere to sound scientific method that does not permit the construction of any new production unit haphazardly and that doesn't permit any squandering of available resources or capabilities. This collective development effort will also necessarily mean the establishment of major production projects that depend on a relatively large market characterized by a real, high demand and moved by the development efforts and the high standard of individual income. Such projects will then proceed with firm steps toward the foreign markets. Finally, one of the most outstanding results emanating from this planned coordination will be a constant increase in the degree of self-sufficiency of the area's states through the gradual replacement of imports. Consequently, the area will become a producer-consumer market instead of its current situation as a consumer market.

We now move to technical cooperation in the agreement to find that the agreement is eager to build a genuine intrinsic base for applied sciences and technology compatible with the nature of the area's needs and with its goals for development and progress. To achieve this, the agreement follows the path of firm cooperation among the member states in innovating spheres of common technical cooperation, in preparing rules, regulations and conditions for the transfer of technology and in selecting the most suitable technology and adapting it to serve their development and progress. This includes the conclusion of unified agreements with foreign governments, scientific institutions or commercial institutions to realize this goal.

On the other hand, the agreement urges the member states to formulate coordinated policies and implement coordinated programs for technical, professional and vocational training at all levels and stages, for developing the educational curricula at all levels to link education and technology with the development needs of the member states, for coordination among the member states in the sphere of manpower and for laying down unified criteria and standards for the various professions and vocations in order to make maximum use of the available human resources.

It is to be noted that the agreement includes extremely advanced arrangements and goals in some of the most important specific aspects regarding the "means" of development--aspects not contained before in similar collective agreements--namely, the aspects of technical and technological progress, of developing the human element capable of undertaking the responsibilities of development and of eagerness to establish technology in the area and to build a Gulf base of

scientific progress, knowledge, production arts and human skills and expertise to nurture the area's development and progress and to be developed locally so as to reduce to a minimum reliance on foreign sources of science and technology.

The agreement also includes a special section on transportation and communications that provides for giving the national transportation means of any member state the same treatment given by all the states to the means of transportation owned by their citizens, including exemption from all taxes and fees. The agreement stresses cooperation among the member states in the sphere of land and maritime transport, communications and coordination in construction of infrastructure projects such as ports, airports, highways and so forth, so as to link their economic activities and serve their common development. The agreement also calls for coordinating aviation and air transport policies. The agreement also decides to give ships and boats owned by the member states the same favorable treatment given to national ships and boats insofar as fees and services of all kinds are concerned.

These transportation and communication arrangements in the agreement are significant because they link the vast territories of the member states, which have a total area of 2,562,270 square kilometers and a population density of four persons per square kilometer and which overlook a long coast stretching across the Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the Red Sea. Moreover, the arrangements provide for stronger links among the citizens of the Gulf states and offer transportation and communications facilities that are of vital importance to affirm future integration among them.

Finally, the agreement deals with financial and monetary cooperation among the member states. It starts by stipulating that the member states exert efforts to unify investment laws and regulations so that they can formulate a common investment policy that serves to guide the internal and external investments of the member states. The agreement also calls for coordinating financial, monetary and banking policies, for increasing cooperation among the currency institutions and the central banks, including unification of the currency so that it can complement the desired economic integration, and for coordinating foreign policies on advancing international and regional development aid.

It is no secret that this aspect of common economic action among the Gulf states is of maximum significance in light of the fact that the Gulf area lives under and experiences the phenomenon of "outward wealth" reflected falsely in hard figures on the area's oil revenues and reserves. The world never stops counting these revenues and reserves and analyzing their expectations, forgetting or intentionally disregarding the fact that these figures represent a part of the area's sole resource, which is being exhausted when it is turned from its oil form whose value may double in the future into its monetary form whose value deteriorates every morning. These states shoulder a trust and a responsibility toward their future generations, namely, the trust and the responsibility of preserving the future generations' share of this depletable resource and of building a new economy that doesn't rely completely on oil, that provides diverse sources of national income and that is able to continue, grow and prosper. This should not, of course, be done at the expense of the present generations. This means formulating long-range Gulf financial, investment and monetary policies characterized by wisdom, planning and careful organization. It also involves the creation of a

Gulf money market that supplies the area's development requirements and meets a part of the financial needs of the Arab and Islamic worlds and of the third world, all this in addition to continued performance by the Gulf states of the noble role they have undertaken in helping the development of the developing countries.

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OPPOSITION LEADERS EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT MUBARAK

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 1 Nov 81 p 7

[Article by Muhammad Salamah and Muhammad Sa'd: "After President's Meeting With Opposition Leaderships, What?"]

[Text] The most important event on the Egyptian political scene last week was President Muhammad Husni Mubarak's meeting with the opposition leaders.

The meeting was a magnificent indication of the mutual trust between the government and the opposition as members of a single family: Egypt.

The opposition declared its support and backing for the president and Husni Mubarak opened his heart to the opposition and welcomed its participation in the national responsibility.

What took place at those meetings? What did the opposition tell President Husni Mubarak and what did it hear from him?

Labor Party Chairman: Egypt's National Interest Is Above All Considerations

The Socialist Labor Party has declared its full appreciation of and support for the policy of President Muhammad Husni Mubarak.

Now the question is: Has the Labor Party changed its policy and its position?

Eng Ibrahim Shukri, Labor Party chairman, has said: Egypt's national interest is above everything and above the parties, both the majority and the opposition parties. The issue is not one of disagreement or agreement with policies but primarily the issue of Egypt's safety and supreme interest. This is why we did not hesitate to support the nomination of President Husni Mubarak and his statement in which we find many of the policies that we are demanding.

We are in a new phase and we want to prepare for it all the means of success. We also want to prepare all the components and bases for the realization of policies that, we hope, will be in the interest of the people, especially stability.

Eng Ibrahim Shukri added: "There is no new policy but it is a new political situation or climate."

Answering a question on the effect of the Labor Party's new position on the alliance between the opposition forces, Ibrahim Shukri said: Some people want to completely link the opposition fronts with each other in all matters. This view is far from the facts. We have our position, which may be similar to or different from the positions of others. But we do not consider these limited criteria because the national interest comes first.

Explaining the party's position toward the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, Shukri said: Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai next April is, no doubt, considered an accomplishment for the Camp David accords. But at the same time, it is not the sole fundamental accomplishment. This is the point of disagreement that we have made clear because we must make implementation of the accords lead to comprehensive peace, including a solution to the Palestinian problem.

Shukri added that evacuation from the Sinai may form a new beginning for a way to settle the Palestinian problem by including other Arab parties, among them the PLO. This inclination has now become clear on more than one side and in more than one initiative. I believe that after 25 April, the opportunity will be more positive and complete.

Regarding the labor Party's position vis-a-vis the Camp David treaty, Eng Ibrahim Shukri has declared that the party did not reject it but expressed some reservations about the part dealing with Palestinian self-rule. He said: "I see Shamir's statements in which he considers Jordan the homeland of the Palestinians as a reaffirmation of our position and our reservations, which emanated from a lack of seriousness in the Israeli position and understanding of the part concerning Palestinian self-rule. I believe that this strict position of ours is in support of the Egyptian negotiator who talks of both parts [of the treaty]."

As for Sudan, Eng Ibrahim Shukri has stressed that the Labor Party considers Sudan essential to Egypt's security and life and that "we view any aggression against Sudan an aggression against Egypt." Shukri added: "We beseech God that Sudan not be subjected to any aggression by its neighbors." The Labor Party chairman also welcomed the endeavors being made by the Arabs and by the OAU to end the differences between Libya and Sudan.

Liberal Party Chairman: Opposition Takes Part in Discussing Important Issues

AL-SIYASI has interviewed the chairman of the Socialist Liberal Party to get his answers to questions that are raised in the Egyptian political arena.

At the outset, Mustafa Kamil Murad talked about what took place during his meeting with President Husni Mubarak, saying: We gave our absolute support to President Husni Mubarak when he was nominated for the presidency of the republic on the basis that he represents the sound democratic national line and that the continuation of this clear and frank line will realize very good results at the local, Arab and international levels. Our meeting with the president has come to confirm the soundness of the line he is following and the clarity of the policy he is adopting.

Murad added: President Husni Mubarak has responded to all the requests made by the opposition leaders during their meeting with his excellency and has promised that the opposition will participate effectively in discussing all the important political affairs and issues. This demand was foremost among the demands presented by the opposition, considering that we demanded that there be responsible participation on the part of the opposition and that the government listen to the opposition's viewpoint and to the alternative solutions and proposals it offers. We also stressed the need for conducting a democratic dialogue among the parties on the various issues and problems and the need to give this dialogue space in the national papers and on radio and television.

On the other hand, the opposition stressed the need for support for all the political parties, whether in terms of financing, offices or party papers, so that they can perform their role more effectively among the masses. Let the solution be the establishment of a fixed system to finance the parties in a manner that enables them to carry out their activity in the best manner.

I asked the chairman of the Liberal Party: Have you determined your position vis-a-vis the new government and is there any thought of a coalition with the Democratic National Party?

Mustafa Kamil Murad answered: Our party's support for President Husni Mubarak and the new government is a national support. So far, the opposition's role in the coming phase has not become clear yet and the opposition's final positions have not been defined. We in the Liberal Party await the statement that President Husni Mubarak will deliver before the People's Assembly on the inauguration of the new parliamentary session. We also await the government statement. After studying both statements, we will prepare a detailed memorandum on the party's viewpoint concerning all the domestic and external issues and on our conception of the means to formulate immediate solutions to the problems of the masses. We will send this memorandum to his excellency the president of the republic.

Regarding the position of the leftist party and the reasons that motivated the president not to meet with Khalid Muhyi al-Din, the Liberal Party chairman said:

President Husni Mubarak has not declined to meet with the Grouping Party leaders. I conveyed to his excellency the president the wish of Khalid Muhyi al-Din and of a number of his party's leaders to meet with his excellency and the president has expressed no objection whatsoever.

His excellency the president said: I am prepared to meet them after a time on condition that Khalid Muhyi al-Din stop making endless statements and stop giving endless interviews to foreign journalists and reporters. The president said: There is no call at all for these press conferences, especially at this particular time.

Counselor Mumtaz Nassar: We Will Unite Our Opinions for Egypt

All in one.

This has been the position of all people with various political inclinations vis-a-vis the important developments that our beloved Egypt has undergone recently.

The Liberal Party hastened to declare its rejection of the means of violence and radicalism, announcing its support for the leadership of Husni Mubarak and its backing for the statement Mubarak made before the People's Assembly.

Ibrahim Shukri, the opposition leader, declared his party's support for President Husni Mubarak and his strong confidence in Mubarak's political and military experience, expressing his expectations of a bright future under President Mubarak's leadership.

This is what the two major [opposition] parties have said. There remain the independents. What has the representatives of the independents in the People's Assembly said?

Counselor Mumtaz Nassar, People's Assembly member for al-Badari circuit, Asyut, and representative of the independents in the People's Assembly, has met with President Husni Mubarak within the series of meetings his excellency held with all the opposition parties and with the independents to familiarize himself with their viewpoints.

I asked Nassar: After your meeting with President Husni Mubarak, what now?

The truth is that we have found that the president is aware of all the country's issues and problems and understands the opposition's view on the current issues. We had been well aware of this because the president's address before the People's Assembly generated strong satisfaction among us and left us more reassured about our country, both internally and externally.

Therefore, we fully believe in the president's steps to wipe out the devious few and to fight corruption in all its forms and shapes.

But have you brought up with the president the issue of the emergency law, considering that you have objected to the application of this law for 1 year?

Yes.

And what did the president say?

He said that the use of the emergency law will be restricted to the narrowest limits, and he promised to end the state of emergency as soon as the situation stabilizes. He also told me that the emergency law should not be applied for a single day without adjudication.

Counselor Mumtaz Nassar added: I also discussed with the president the situation concerning the detainees and the president has issued instructions for a speedy completion of the interrogations currently being conducted with the detainees so as to settle the situation and to release those proven innocent and not involved in the incidents experienced by the country.

Counselor Nassar added: Believe me, the discussion with President Husni Mubarak was constructive and he has promised to exchange views with the opposition on the important issues before they are presented to the People's Assembly. We have agreed that opinion should be united for the sake of Egypt's interest.

Are you thinking of formulating a new position for the People's Assembly's independents in light of the president's statements and meetings with you?

Counselor Nassar answered: Our position in the new session will be confined to supporting the national projects on which we reach an understanding before they are presented to the Assembly and to supporting all the investment proposals seeking to raise production.

We will be united inside and outside the People's Assembly for the sake of the citizen's and the country's interest.

President Husni Mubarak has begun a national reconciliation with all the political forces. There is no doubt that our meeting with him has been tantamount to a national initiative to establish a kind of positive participation on the basis of the public interests that concern the masses.

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EGYPT

KHALID MUHYI AL-DIN DISCUSSES GOVERNMENT POLICIES, PRINCE FAHD PEACE PLAN

Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 25 Oct 81 p 7

[Interview With Khalid Muhyi al-Din, leader of Egyptian Unionist Grouping Party, by Thamir Muhammad al-Miman: "I Totally Agree With Prince Fahd's Initiative and I Add to It Evacuation of Foreign Bases and Nuclear Weapons From Area; Egyptian Government Burned All Its Winning Cards Before Negotiating; Camp David Embodies Israeli Conditions; Egypt Has Not Benefited From It at All"]

[Text] Under circumstances forecasting numerous surprises, it was very difficult to measure the feelings and the hopes of the Egyptian people prior to al-Sadat's assassination. This is why I wanted to talk to the top opposition leader in Egypt, Khalid Muhyi al-Din, and I have had my wish.

At 1700, I was standing in front of his residence. He came down smiling and apologized for not meeting me in his house because the house was undergoing maintenance, including painting, elevator repairs and so forth. I asked him: Do you prefer to get in my car or to have me get in your car? He said, as if intentionally: You go in your car and I will go in mine. What he wanted to say is: My circumstances harbor a lot of surprises and I fear for you. I followed his Peugeot 504, which headed for al-Jazirah Club. I looked around and we were being watched by more than one. Despite this, we selected an isolated seat in the club. He showed his membership card and paid the admission fee for my ticket. I was behind him. On entering the club grounds, he went looking for parking and the guard motioned to me to enter. Meanwhile, another car entered behind us. Its occupants did not show their membership cards and did not pay for their admission tickets but showed cards of a different kind and were permitted to enter immediately. I still remember them, even though I don't know them. I then had this interview with Khalid Muhyi al-Din.

Two days before the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat, AL-MADINAH interviewed Khalid Muhyi al-Din, member of the former Egyptian Revolution Command Council and leader of the opposition Egyptian Unionist Grouping Party.

In the interview, Muhyi al-Din discussed numerous Egyptian and Arab issues, underlining directly or indirectly the reasons for the change taking place in Egypt at present, at least the change involving the assassination of one president and the assumption of power by another.

Khalid Muhyi al-Din dealt with the inadequacy of the Camp David accords, underlining the reasons for his opposition to the accords. He also refuted the accusations levelled against him, especially the accusation of Marxism. He also outlined his viewpoint on solving the Arab issue, stating that this view is identical with the contents of Prince Fahd's initiative. He has further discussed numerous other things, including the reasons for his not assuming any ministerial position. Following is the text of the interview:

[Question] It is said that the Camp David treaty has isolated Egypt but united the Arabs. What is your view of this statement and how true is it?

[Answer] Theoretically, this statement is correct. The Camp David treaty has motivated nearly all the Arabs to adopt a semi-united position toward it despite the strong differences among them. This position emerged clearly at the Baghdad summit, then in the Tunis summit and in the measures taken by the Arab countries against the Egyptian Government.

The Egyptian Government's conclusion of the Camp David agreement has isolated it. But this action hasn't isolated Egypt because Egypt is a part of the Arab nation and it cannot be isolated. What has been isolated as a result of the separate agreements is the Egyptian Government's policy. Despite all the Arab differences, there is one thing that unites this nation, namely, a united position vis-a-vis these accords.

As to what the Egyptian Government says about the Arab states' attack against Egypt, it is wrong. Nobody is attacking Egypt or the Egyptian people. What is being attacked is the Egyptian Government and its leadership, unless they consider the Egyptian Government and its leaders to be the representatives of Egypt.

What Is Added and What Is Omitted

[Question] If we were to ask Khalid Muhyi al-Din to add to or to omit from the Camp David accords, what would he add and what would he omit?

[Answer] We object to the method of the solution and not just to the agreement. We reject negotiation with Israel from a position of weakness. The effective instruments of pressure held by the Egyptian Government had been wasted before the Egyptian negotiator reached the negotiating table. It is our opinion that the Jerusalem visit was the straw that broke the camel's back when it portrayed Egypt before the world as if it were incapable of continuing the war and as if the only thing left for the Arabs was peace with Israel. President al-Sadat demonstrated that the issue of relations with Israel is not a very difficult issue and that he accepts such relations, as evidenced by his visit to Jerusalem and his speech before the Knesset there. President al-Sadat thus burned all the winning cards in his hand, weakened his position, isolated himself from the Arab countries and entered the negotiating arena independently.

It is possible that the Arab countries are weaker than Egypt militarily. But their collective economic, political and financial weight forms an international weight and a force that has its importance. Therefore, the agreement will lead to bad consequences. When I asked former Minister of Foreign Affairs Isma'il

Fahmi why he resigned, he said: "As a negotiator, I no longer have anything to use to put pressure on Israel in the negotiations." This doesn't mean that Isma'il Fahmi is against the policy of rapprochement with the United States. The Camp David agreement is synonymous with the Israeli conditions and the implementation of these conditions. Even if Israel withdraws from the Sinai, it will do so in accordance with the Israeli conditions that:

1. The Sinai be demilitarized.
2. U.S. and foreign forces be stationed in it for good.
3. A U.S. guarantee be provided for the agreement in case differences arise.

Required: New Policy

Thus it is evident that all the conditions of the agreement are bad for Egypt militarily. Egypt will have only one division in Sinai and is banned from using any military air fields there. Moreover, there are the two bases that have been built for Israel on the Egyptian borders in the Negev. All this shows that Israel has achieved superiority over Egypt in these conditions.

Any Egyptian politician who wants to amend the treaty or to adopt a position toward it takes into consideration all these military conditions, which constitute an instrument of pressure against the Egyptian decision maker. On the other hand, there is no agreement in the world that stipulates that a state of war be ended [as published]. It is true that termination of the state of war means mutual recognition. Israel is a state and so is Egypt. There is no peace treaty in the world that says that ambassadors must be exchanged as soon as the first phase is completed, unlike the [Egyptian-Israeli] treaty.

It is obvious from all this that there is a transgression against the Egyptian administration because the goal behind establishing embassies and commercial relations is in conflict with the state's sovereignty. The treaty also contains stipulations for ending all anti-Israel propaganda and for abolishing everything hostile to Israel or to Zionism in the academic curricula. Meanwhile, Israel doesn't stop talking of its expansionist plans and doesn't stop saying that it is the state of all the world's Jews. Moreover, Israel is exposing its ambitions in all of Palestine and saying that Palestine is without people [presumably meaning there are no Palestinian citizens]. We have agreed to change the curricula whereas Israel has not changed a single one of its goals. The conditions contained in the treaty are hard. Perhaps they would have been in order before the October war. But after that war, after the victory and under the canopy of fruitful Arab cooperation, an agreement could have been reached that would not have made the Arab side capitulate to whatever Israel wants--a capitulation evident in the present agreement.

Price of Evacuation is Exorbitant

[Question] In your view, what have the Camp David accords realized for the Arabs and what have they realized for Egypt?

[Answer] Insofar as Egypt and the Egyptian people are concerned, these accords have achieved nothing, unless you consider the evacuation and departure of the Israeli army from the Sinai a gain. However, it is my opinion that the price for this evacuation is very exorbitant. The evacuation is superficial and the Egyptian Army cannot enter the Sinai.

When the British negotiated with various governments over evacuation [from the canal area], those governments rejected the British conditions. This doesn't mean that those governments were against evacuation and independence. But they were against the exorbitant price Britain had been demanding, namely, the price of abandoning their will after independence. This is why the price that Egypt has paid in return for evacuation from the Sinai is its sovereignty and its Arab, Islamic, international and African relations.

Sovereignty is an army and a flag. It is true that the Egyptian laws will be applied in the Sinai and that the Sinai will be returned to Egypt. But there are constant pressures because of the military situation. The mistakes are much bigger than the successes and the price is extremely exorbitant.

We Object to Alignment With United States

[Question] The Egyptian Government believes that 99 percent of the cards in this issue are held by the United States. That is why it has wagered completely on the United States and thrown itself into the arms of the United States, as many say. What is your opinion?

[Answer] We object to the method of the solution emanating from a change in the Egyptian policy as embodied in the new political option, namely, that of alignment with the United States. Egypt has thus been made, as President Anwar al-Sadat has said, a partner in U.S. policy. After his latest visit to the United States, President al-Sadat said: "We have become partners with the United States in its strategy in the area." This takes us out of the nonaligned group. It is my view and opinion that the political option adopted by the Egyptian Government is what has brought us so close to U.S. policy. No pro-U.S. country in the area has moved so close to U.S. policy. At the same time, Egypt's ability to exert pressure on the United States or on Israel has been very limited. The only instrument of pressure used by Egypt is the argument that Egypt's regime or government is pro-U.S. and any harm done to this regime poses a danger to the United States. Any danger makes the United States hasten to help Egypt. On the other hand, the United States realizes that Egypt cannot stay away from it.

By the admission of President al-Sadat himself, Carter pressured him to accept the conditions submitted by Israel--conditions that led to the resignation of Muhammad Ibrahim Kamil, a former minister of foreign affairs. This means that the U.S. pressure on Egypt is stronger than Egypt's pressure on the United States. This option is harmful to the Egyptian and Arab interests in the long run. It is my opinion that the Arab area must have balanced relations with the two super-powers. It is not necessary for me to antagonize the Soviets in order to become a friend of the United States.

Impossible for Our Grouping To Be Marxist

[Question] There is a chronic accusation against the Egyptian opposition, namely, that it is always a communist opposition or an opposition that follows the communist course. This accusation is levelled most strongly against your party in particular and the Egyptian Government constantly reiterates the accusation. What is your defense and what is the justification for this accusation?

[Answer] When President al-Sadat permitted the establishment of the platforms and called for a platform for the right, a platform for the center and a platform including all the leftist factions, he was aware that the left consists of numerous factions, and we have said that our party is comprised of numerous factions. But he continued to say that the Grouping Party is a Marxist party. This is impossible because Egyptian law prohibits the foundation of any Marxist party. Should a Marxist or a communist party be discovered, the law punishes [the founders] with a 15- to 20-year prison term. Al-Sadat knows perfectly well that our party, the Grouping Party, is not Marxist because its program was presented to the Central Committee and to the People's Assembly and was approved by the parties law. The Grouping Party is committed to the principles of the Islamic Shari'a, the 23 July revolution and the 15 May revolution. So how can it be communist?

There are active and effective Marxist elements [in the party] and because they are active and effective we curb them. I defy [anybody to prove] the presence of a single statement by the Grouping Party lauding the Soviet Union since the foundation of this party. On the contrary, we have demanded evacuation of the Soviet Army from Afghanistan. But we have opposed Camp David, and the Soviet Union has also opposed Camp David. We called the January 1977 movement a popular uprising and the Soviet Union called it the same thing. So, it is a meeting of opinions only. We have not supported the Soviet Union and have not demanded adoption of communist thought. We cling to "scientific socialism" as defined by the National Charter. We defend the true principles of the 23 July revolution concerning the Arab movement and affiliation, socialism and nonalignment. If the freedom and opportunities were nearly equal [to those given to the Democratic National Party], if the [Grouping] members were not persecuted in universities and in numerous other places, our party now would be representing an effective and influential force in the adoption of any Egyptian decision. This is why the regime persists in its allegations and in describing us as "atheists." It is a campaign launched to scare the citizens away from the party at a time when the party has no paper and no right to defend itself. But despite all these (allegations) and these statements, the party operates in the street and wins supporters. We are confident of our goals. We are not a communist party and if one of our members is proven, by a judiciary sentence, to belong to another party, he is expelled from our party.

True and Untrue in What al-Sadat Has Attributed to Me

[Question] President al-Sadat has said in his latest speech that Khalid Muhyi al-Din has refused to put his hand in the hand of those who say that the 23 July revolution is a reactionary revolution. It is said that this is the reason for your not being arrested with the other leaders that al-Sadat arrested recently. What is your comment on this?

[Answer] What happened is as follows; President al-Sadat said that I agreed with Fu'ad Siraj al-Din on dissolving the new al-Wafd Party. Naturally, this story is untrue because I have no connection with this. But I did meet with Fu'ad Siraj al-Din and ask him about the reasons for dissolving the party. He said: Under the canopy of the new conditions and the new laws, the party cannot continue because it is paralyzed. So, Fu'ad Siraj al-Din is the one who decided to dissolve the party and I agreed with his opinion as an opinion. But personally I am against dissolving parties.

The second point noted by President al-Sadat is that a U.S. professor discussed with me the question of merging the Grouping Party with al-Wafd Party, saying that this would produce good results. I told him that this would be difficult because our starting points are different. We consider the 23 July revolution a national revolution whereas al-Wafd Party believes the contrary. Moreover, the predominant current in our party is a Nasirist current. This is why I objected [to the merger]. Whoever transmitted the conversation [to al-Sadat] did not do so accurately.

We Will Not Merge With Muslim Brotherhood

[Question] So the point of agreement and disagreement between you and al-Wafd Party is that you consider the 23 July revolution as your first national starting point whereas al-Wafd views that revolution as a sort of deviation from the democratic course?

[Answer] I cannot, for example, merge with the Muslim Brotherhood. The Grouping Party cannot merge with the Muslim Brotherhood. But it can cooperate with it. We are a party that considers religion a complementary part of the political system and believe that religion puts emphasis on political positions. But fundamentally, the Muslim Brotherhood begins from a different starting point. We serve the principles of religion, justice and consultation whereas the program of the Brotherhood consists entirely of the Koran and the Sunna. I have no objection to cooperation.

A politician who rejects cooperation is not a politician. For example, I was prepared during the sectarian sedition in Egypt to cooperate with the National Party even though my positions are in fundamental disagreement with its positions. I was prepared to cooperate with the National Party to wipe out sectarian sedition that our party wants to avert. But it [National Party] doesn't want to avert it and wants to exploit the incidents of this sectarian sedition to strike the opposition. If that party wants to deal with the causes of this sedition, then this is not the way to follow. It is normal for the opposition to exploit any mistake committed by the government, else it would not be an opposition. We are not angels or prophets.

Crushed Behind Incidents of al-Zawiyah

[Question] What is your analysis of the Egyptian sectarian struggle that in the government's view, became evident in al-Zawiyah al-Hamra' incidents. Is it a fabricated or real struggle or is there another explanation for it?

[Answer] Sectarian conflict has become a recurrent and periodic phenomenon in Egypt since 1972. This confirms that this struggle has struck deep roots. It has also become obvious that its causes are economic, political and external. Israel's and the U.S.'s entry into the area and their tampering in it encourage the sectarian struggle. This is my viewpoint. Class disparity is also another cause. It is noted that those who staged al-Zawiyah al-Hamra' riots are from the crushed class of the people. This emphasizes that these people are ready to listen to any words. Added to this is the absence of real political democracy, enlightened thought and an enlightened Islamic-Christian movement.

Meaning of Being Enlightened

[Question] What do you exactly mean by the absence of an enlightened Islamic-Christian movement?

[Answer] I mean by this understanding Islam in a rational and enlightened contemporary way and interpreting Islam without fanaticism and in a manner compatible with the conditions of the age. This applies to the Christian side as well. The absence of such understanding and interpretation and the absence of a real religious reform movement has caused religious fanaticism to prevail. In the absence of mature political thought, fanatic religious concepts always grow. The absence of justice, the presence of a state of constraint among the circles of the Coptic minority and the presence of a belief among the Muslims that the Copts enjoy the economic benefits have nurtured religious fanaticism. The climate is what nurtures such a struggle. Naturally, this is the responsibility of the government and not of the opposition. The government is fully responsible and so is the ruling party.

These radical Islamic groups started in 1972. Who has allowed them to continue to exist until now? Al-Sadat then says: "Those who have exploited the sectarian sedition" and proceeds to strike all the politicians. There is no doubt that this is an opportunity to get rid of the opposition and to shackle it. Such action is tantamount to wiping out political action. Any Egyptian man in the street knows well how referendums are conducted, how the results are declared and how the elections are prepared. As far as the popular will is concerned, the entire Egyptian people understand that the government doesn't accept opposition. They [government and National Party] said "honorable opposition" and brought out Ibrahim Shukri. But when Shukri disagreed with them he became dishonorable. And now they want to build a strong opposition!

What is required is to say what the majority wants.

God Knows How This Phase Will End

[Question] This leads us to the issue of the political detainees.

[Answer] This latest decree codifies detention and the special measures to bring politicians to account before the judiciary authority (the Court of Shame). This means full control of political investigation by the security agencies because such investigations rely on information and the information is gathered by the security agencies. Therefore, the role of judiciary investigation and of

judiciary trial of the politicians has come to an end and what the regime calls the "supremacy of law" has also come to an end. Regrettably, we have entered a new phase and only God knows how it will end. I do not think that there is democracy, whether in the People's Assembly, in the Consultative Council or among the advisors. They have drawn up a charter and tied everybody to it. A charter must come with the agreement and approval of all. Charters are not imposed. They should, at least, invite us to participate with our opinion and should not impose anything on us. There is no majority party that imposes an opinion on the other parties and binds them to this opinion, else democracy would come to an end in the world.

Government Party

[Question] Recently, new names have appeared in Egypt, such as the law of shame, the Egyptian family and al-Sadat law. There is no longer a clear identity of the real source. What is your opinion?

[Answer] The problem is that the majority party in Egypt is not a strong and popular party. It depends on the government to bolster its power. This is the problem. Whoever wants to travel must get permission from the National Party. If a citizen wants a ration card, he has to get permission from the National Party. The same goes for apartments. This makes the party a part of the government. This is why the party is weak. It uses the government and the police to attract adherents. The issue is one of program and method.

I Am Responsible for My Government Only

[Question apparently missing]

[Answer] We do not interfere in the affairs of the Arab governments. Naturally, we have reservations about some Arab regimes. But this is not our problem. Our problem is with the Egyptian Government. The Arab people of every country are responsible for evaluating their government. We are against the Egyptian Government's positions, against Camp David, against the growing U.S. influence in the area and against the U.S. and Soviet military presence in the area. We support any person whose views, even half his views, agree with ours. We keep silent on any government that agrees with us in these views. This is why I am not free to evaluate the Arab regimes or leaderships. I am responsible for my government. By the way, the Egyptian Government gets angry when somebody gives interviews to foreign papers. But I believe that even if we refrain from giving interviews, it is possible for our views to reach the press through the symposium the party holds. What goes on in this symposium is heard and is transmitted to the press. Therefore, there is no such a thing as "foreign" or "internal."

For example, when Britain attacked in 1956, the British Labor Party staged street demonstrations against its government. The same happened in France, where thousands of Frenchmen staged demonstration in opposition to their government's attack on Egypt in 1956. Millions of Americans also stood against their government during America's war in Vietnam. There is nothing, except prophets, that is not subject to tasking and to discussion.

I Have Not Assumed Ministry

[Question] It is noted that even though you are one of the men of the 23 July revolution, you have not held a ministerial position so far. What is your comment on this?

[Answer] The reason for my not taking part in any cabinet is due to the fact that I resigned from the Revolution Command Council in April 1954. I then worked in the press as chief editor of AL-MASA' and AL-AKHBAR, in the People's Assembly and in the Central Committee of the Socialist Union. This means that I have worked in the general political sphere but have not held any ministerial position.

I Add "Nuclear" Evacuation of Area to al-Fahd's Proposals

[Question] Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz has voiced peace proposals that include eight points. You must have familiarized yourself with these proposals. What is your evaluation of this plan?

[Answer] I fully approve Prince Fahd's peace plan. The establishment of an independent Palestinian state, the repatriation of the Palestinian refugees, evacuation from all the occupied Arab territories and all the other provisions are just demands. But what I want to say is that unless this solution is coupled with another solution, the area will continue to face dangers. This other solution is to keep the area free of foreign bases, nuclear weapons and foreign fleets and to create a real climate of peace.

The Arab area must not be Soviet or American. It must be Arab. Our plan as a Unionist Party accords with Prince Fahd's plan but adds to it freedom of the entire Middle East and West Asia area from foreign alliances and bases and nuclear weapons. This is why the arms race that has been going on since Camp David is unnecessary. The monies spent on weapons must be channeled toward building peace, not only after peace is established between Israel and the Arabs but also after the area is steered clear of international conflict. The realization of this goal is more difficult because the United States wants to solve the Palestinian problem within the framework of the U.S. custodianship over the area. This is our party's view.

Prince Fahd's plan proceeds along the lines of international legitimacy. The plan does not make it a condition that diplomatic relations be established with Israel. This issue is left to the Arab states to decide according to what they deem to be in their interest.

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JUSTIFICATION FOR DECLARATION OF STATE OF EMERGENCY REVIEWED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 26 Oct 81 p 6

[Article by Bahirah Mukhtar: "Emergency Law To Counter Terrorism; President of Republic Is Entitled To Set Up Special State Security Courts and To Take Measures To Restrict Freedom of Individuals Without Observing Ordinary Law"]

[Text] Declaration of the state of emergency in the country is the most eloquent reply to that terrorist scheme seeking to declare a Khomeyni-style revolution and to create a climate of utter chaos in the country. What is the "state of emergency" from the viewpoint of the law and when and why is it declared? When and why is it abolished?

Dr Ahmad Fathi Surur, head of the criminal law section of the Cairo School of Law, one of the best-known jurists and one who has stressed the role of the law in guaranteeing individual freedom in more than 20 studies he has written, supports the emergency law and explains why it is necessary in this particular phase.

Dr Surur says: The state of emergency is occasioned by the special circumstances being experienced by the country. Special circumstances are governed by special legal rules to meet these circumstances. These special rules are regulated by the emergency law. Under special circumstances, the need arises to adopt special measures to safeguard public order or to insure the uninterrupted work of public utilities. The French State Council has defined the special circumstances on the basis of a state of need to justify going beyond the ordinary law under those circumstances. Egyptian law defines the special circumstances in two ways: First the emergence of a danger posing a threat to the national unity or to the country's security, and this is stipulated in Article 74 of the constitution. The second is the state of emergency that is established by the declaration of a state of emergency [as published]. This is regulated by Article 148 of the Egyptian constitution. Our discussion will be confined, according to Dr Ahmad Fathi Surur, to the second kind of special circumstances, namely the state of emergency.

In Britain and the United States, this state has been defined as martial laws. Egypt has defined it [as a state of emergency] since the British occupation in 1882. Martial law or a state of emergency are divided in turn into two kinds: The first is a military state of emergency, which is restricted to military zones in which a state of defense [presumably meaning alert] is declared and where

special measures are taken. The second kind is the political state of emergency, which covers all parts of the country if it is exposed to a danger threatening its domestic or external security.

Modern Egypt has known martial law since the British invasion of 11 July 1882. The British Government declared this state in Egypt on 2 November 1914 when Turkey joined Germany after the outbreak of World War I. This martial law continued to exist in Egypt and was not terminated until 5 July 1923 when the 1923 constitution was promulgated. Article 95 of that constitution permitted the declaration of martial law. Law No 15 of 1923 governing martial law was issued 26 June 1923. This law permitted a declaration of martial law whenever public security or order in the Egyptian territories or in a part of Egypt were endangered. In accordance with this law, martial law was declared 1 September 1939 when World War II started and was terminated 14 October 1945 when the war ended. Martial law was again declared on 14 May 1948 on the occasion of the Palestine war and was lifted 29 April 1950, except in the governorates of Sinai and the Red Sea. Martial law was declared for a third time on 26 January 1952 on the occasion of the Cairo arson and was abolished in 1956 on the occasion of the referendum on the constitution. However, it was declared again in November 1956 because of the tripartite attack against Egypt in the wake of nationalization of the Suez Canal. This declaration was then called a "state of emergency" for the first time. This state of emergency continued to exist until March 1964. In the wake of the Israeli aggression of 1967, the state of emergency was declared in the country on 5 June 1967 and was then terminated on 14 May 1980 [presumably meaning 1970].

Dr Surur has added: Special circumstances are a kind of [sudden] changes experienced by society's ordinary life--changes that require parallel legal changes to the necessary degree to deal with them, with a minimal observation of the guarantees of individual freedom insured by the constitution. The guarantee of freedom lies in observation of the principle that a person is innocent [until proven guilty]. It is to be noted that the state of emergency imposes special rules that are applied within the framework of the guarantees of personal freedom. The legitimacy of the measures taken in a state of emergency is called the special legitimacy, to distinguish it from the ordinary legitimacy observed under normal circumstances. Here we must point out that "declaration of a state of emergency" is an act of sovereignty initiated by the president of the republic within the bounds of his political responsibility and approved by the People's Assembly. The measures taken in implementation of the state of emergency are based on the current Egyptian emergency law No 162 of 1958. In accordance with the philosophical basis of the state of emergency based on the said law, a state of emergency may be declared whenever public security or order in the territories of the republic or in part of them are endangered, whether because of the outbreak of war, the development of a situation posing the threat of war, the outbreak of internal riots, the occurrence of general catastrophes or the spread of an epidemic. In accordance with the constitution, the president of the republic declares the state of emergency, then presents this declaration to the People's Assembly within the next 15 days so that the Assembly may decide what it deems fit.

The emergency law guarantees the president of the republic the right to set up special state security courts to try defendants accused of crimes violating

military orders or other crimes referred to them by the president of the republic. In investigating these crimes, the public prosecutor may use all the powers he, the investigating judge and the referral counselor are entitled to.

Moreover, the president of the republic is empowered to adopt all the measures necessary to impose restrictions on the freedom of individuals without observance of the ordinary law.

The state of emergency has been declared to safeguard the country's and the citizens' security. Moreover, there is a saying that "only a thief fears a policeman." The ordinary citizen is protected by the state of emergency measures because these measures are established to protect him and to protect the country's security. As long as this citizen follows the straight path, he need not be worried by the special powers permitted by the emergency law.

As a necessity, the state of emergency is assessed (on its own merits), meaning that the measures permitted by the law are taken when the need dictates such measures.

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CSO: 4504/64

EGYPT

SUEZ CANAL TUNNEL SCHEDULED TO BE OPENED BY END OF OCTOBER

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2452, 21 Oct 81 pp 31-32

[Article by Muhammad 'Ali al-Sayyid: "Dream Turned Into Reality: Sinai's Isolation Ended"]

[Text] After the great crossing, his big dream was to end Sinai's isolation and to begin its reconstruction. To realize that dream, the project for the tunnel under the Suez Canal--Martyr Ahmad Hamdi Tunnel--came into existence. From the day the late leader gave the go-ahead for the start of excavation work, he kept up with the implementation of the project step by step. His words to the project workers motivated them to exert greater efforts and sweat. The words were: "Buckle down. You have my wishes for success. Your country will remember you for the magnificent and great effort you are exerting."

The project has been completed and the work in it has ended. The late leader was not destined to inaugurate it this month, October, as had been scheduled.

In this report, AKHIR SA'AH presents the story of the great dream that has been turned into a reality and has materialized to stand as a living testimony to the great accomplishments and building for the future Egypt, the foundations of which have been laid by the martyr leader, Anwar al-Sadat.

"Egypt views your work with pride." These are the words al-Sadat said to the workers in Hamdi Ahmad Tunnel and you see these words in their eyes, in their statements and in the look of determination showing on their faces while they apply the finishing touches to the tunnel in preparation for its inauguration at full capacity at the end of October 1981

In October, hero Ahmad Hamdi, deputy commander of the engineer corps, was martyred while working on the (pontoon bridge) of the Third Army.

On 28 October 1973, leader al-Sadat entrusted Engineer 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman to implement the project as part of the canal's reconstruction and of ending the Sinai's isolation.

In October 1977, leader al-Sadat gave the go-ahead for the start of excavation work when he pressed the button operating the gigantic shield drill at Kilometer 17 north of the city of Suez.

On that day, the leader, according to the workers, asked about the minutest details, visited the ventilation ducts and the exploratory well and lifted the telephone to tell the workers working underground:

"A happy holiday. Work hard. We all wish you success and your country will not forget the magnificent effort you have been exerting."

The voice of the foreman came on the telephone from the depths of the earth to say:

"God willing, we will cross under the canal as the armed forces crossed it over the water."

The president then pushed the button operating the drill to realize his big dream.

Here he was in October 1980 honoring 57 [Egyptian] engineers and 8 foreign engineers working on the tunnel because it was his nature to be loyal and to express his gratitude.

He stood to declare to the world: "Today, the eastern wing of the Arab and Islamic nation is tied to its western wing silently and proudly."

The main goal that the late leader sought from construction of the Hamdi Ahmad Tunnel was to link the Sinai with the canal cities so that the Sinai might become a province integrated with and linked to the valley.

The goal was also to transport the natural raw materials and resources existing in the Sinai to the interior of the republic and to provide the resources for reconstructing and reviving the Sinai and for building roads and railroads to link the Arab countries with each other.

Amid this presence of his pure soul and the determination in his eyes, questions concerning that hope and the dream arose: What is it, why, when was it completed and what are its benefits? We heard the words from the workers in their ceaseless activity to realize this dream and have it opened in October so that it can serve as a symbol of loyalty.

Leader Kept Up With All Steps

Eng Zakariya 'Abd al-Hadi, in charge of the implementing company and one of those who got a medal from the last president, has said:

The leader followed up on the project from the start and kept up with every one of its steps--steps that started in 1977 when his excellency gave the go-ahead for beginning the excavation work.

The main body of the tunnel, opened by the leader in October 1980, is tantamount to a cylindrical bore installed through the use of the shield machine. It is 1.4 kilometers long. This bore is the core of the tunnel and it has precast

concrete walls 600 millimeters thick, designed to withstand high pressures. The bore consists of connected links, each link containing 16 concrete blocks and having a width of 1.2 meters.

This is the part of the tunnel that is underground. The length of the entire tunnel is 6 kilometers. The external part of the tunnel consists of the tunnel entrances and exists, the roads leading to the tunnel and the areas for waiting cars.

The Ahmad Hamdi Tunnel is divided into three sections: The lower section, which has three openings, two for two water pipelines, each with a capacity of 135,000 cubic meters, and the third for a high-tension powerline to supply electricity to the eastern area. The water pipelines supply a water plant built on the Suez Canal.

Next is the central section, which is designated for vehicle crossing and in which vehicles can cross in two opposite lanes. On both sides of the vehicle road, there are elevated sidewalks for maintenance and control workers.

The third section of the tunnel is lined and contains openings for ventilating exhaust fumes in the tunnel.

Eng Zakariya 'Abd al-Hadi adds: The tunnel also has a secondary lining consisting of light-colored Formica sheets that reflect light and make the tunnel lighting more like daylight.

Moreover, the latest equipment is used for tunnel ventilation and control. The tunnel is nearly 51 meters below ground level. It has been built so deep so that it will not be affected even by maximum future Suez Canal expansion.

The tunnel has a main control center located near the western entrance and supplied with various equipment, including television screens linked to television cameras installed inside the tunnel, equipment for air pollution readings in the tunnel and control equipment that operates the ventilation plants and fans and controls lighting inside and outside the tunnel.

Moreover, the tunnel has a total ventilation system whereby fresh air comes into the tunnel from openings found all along the floor of the tunnel and [stale air] escapes through openings in the top of the tunnel, with the help of towers built on both sides of the tunnel.

Shield

The shield machine whose operating button was pushed by the late leader is a drilling machine designed specifically for construction of Martyr Ahmad Hamdi Tunnel. It is suitable for the area's soil. The machine was built in Germany. It contains three drills. It removes the excavated earth and places the concrete links in place by pressure. Its capacity in the first 4 months amounted to installing two links every 24 hours. But this capacity increased later, especially when the Egyptian workers took over, to reach six links daily. This machine cost 5 million pounds.

Engineer Zakariya adds: The late president stayed with us on the site on the day the machine was put into operation until we drilled 1.6 meters into the rock. He then left after congratulating us on our work and wishing us success.

Final Tests

Eng Mahfuz Hanna, the project's resident engineer from the Ministry of Reconstruction and another one of those who got a medal from the late president, has said:

The workers on the site are determined to intensify their efforts to hand over the tunnel very soon so that it can be opened and realize the hope.

We have been carrying out the final tests on the sensitive equipment, such as the cables, the radar and television screens, the pollution measurement equipment and the fire alarms.

The tunnel is now ready to receive vehicles at its maximum capacity of 300 per hour, especially since the tunnel entrances and exits have been supplied with traffic lights, car waiting areas, fire engines and tow trucks.

The maximum speed in the tunnel will be 30 kilometers an hour. Thus, a vehicle can traverse the tunnel in 15 minutes.

Moreover, the tunnel in its entirety has been asphalted and all equipment has been installed. I should note here that the Ahmad Hamdi Tunnel is designed to be 95 percent dry.

The tunnel has been built in accordance with blueprints prepared by a well-known foreign consulting firm. The ministry has followed up every step with the construction company. We had our observations, which have been actually implemented, such as increasing the tunnel's length by 100 meters near the eastern area because extending the tunnel to a low area is less costly than engaging in filling work and extending it to a high area. We also found that the two sides of the tunnel are suitable for building (slopes and footpaths) without the use of reinforced concrete. This has also been done. This is in addition to the modifications proposed by the armed forces to guarantee the tunnel's safety.

It is a great source of pride for the workers that the late leader followed up every step of the project, supporting them with hope, with his repeated visits and with his questions about every detail and every person involved.

A residential area has been built for the tunnel workers, and the technicians who will work in the tunnel permanently will occupy it. It should be noted that the area was built in 1977, which means that its price has risen. The project will thus reduce its costs in the long run.

This is in addition to the water plant that has been built and that now serves the area and the other benefits whose role and importance in reconstructing the Sinai and in building the valley's prosperity is a secret to nobody.

Six Degrees of Lighting

Eng Mursi Mahmud Salamah, director of project implementation and also one of those who got a medal from the late leader, has said:

In addition to the efforts they have exerted with the support of the leader, the workers here are determined to finish as quickly as possible and to hand over the tunnel so that it can be opened within days.

Statistics indicate the efforts they have exerted, motivated by their resolution. They have excavated 2.4 million cubic meters of surface soil and the volume of excavation in the body of the tunnel totals 175,000 cubic meters of petrified clay.

Moreover, our electrical engineers have exerted efforts so that the tunnel will have 6 degrees of gradually changing light, so that a driver will not be surprised by sudden strong or weak light. This is in addition to a light reflector on the western side of the tunnel that functions as an intermediate area between normal light and the tunnel's light.

The tunnel's electricity requirement totals 9,000 kilowatt-hours, which the tunnel gets from the three power plants in the Suez, in addition to an emergency plant with a capacity of 500 kilowatt-hours that goes into operation in case of a power outage.

We leave them with the words of the great leader ringing in our ears: "Buckle down. Your country will not forget your magnificent effort."

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SYSTEM OF STUDENT ADVISORS INTRODUCED AT AL-AZHAR UNIVERSITY

Cairo AL-LIWA' AL-ISLAMI in Arabic weekly supplement to MAYU No 18, 2 Nov 81 p 6

[Article: "After Start of Studies at al-Azhar: Advisor for Every 30 Students To Be Responsible for Their Actions; 50 Free Copies of Every Book for Needy Students"]

[Text] It has been decided to adopt the system of student advisors at al-Azhar University colleges for the first time this year. This will be done by dividing the students into groups, each comprising 30 students advised by a tutor or an assistant instructor to help solve their problems.

It has also been decided to disburse 110,000 pounds to the Social Solidarity Fund, including 22,000 pounds for the project to produce Islamic uniforms for the students of the women's colleges. This is in addition to subsidizing the budgets of the student unions and allocating 1 million pounds for university textbooks.

This has been stated by Dr 'Abd al-Latif Khulayf, al-Azhar University vice president for student affairs, who has also said: Memorization of the venerable Koran by the students, the teaching of Koranic sciences and other Islamic disciplines, especially in the applied colleges, and the assignment of capable professors to teach these disciplines are the subject of major attention on the part of the university.

The vice president of al-Azhar University has also said that the 87,000 pounds has been allocated for student social welfare in order to realize a kind of social solidarity, to provide disabled students with care and to purchase equipment helpful for them, to pay residence fees at the city towns for students unable to pay and to provide the Islamic uniform free of charge to female students who cannot afford it by producing this uniform at the university. This uniform will be sold to students able to pay at a token price.

Responsibility of Supervisors

Regarding the system of student advisors, Dr 'Abd al-Latif Khulayf said: Each group will include 30 students and will be advised by a tutor or an assistant instructor under the supervision of an assistant professor or professor. The advisor will be responsible for the students' regular attendance at lectures throughout the academic year, for solving their problems, for providing them with full educational care, for helping them in whatever difficulties they encounter and for providing them with university textbooks.

'Abd al-'Aziz Quraysh, secretary general of al-Azhar University, has said: In its latest meeting, the University Council agreed to appoint 4 professors and 16 assistant professors to bolster the teaching staff in the various colleges of the university.

Dr Muhammad Abu Hatab, dean of the College of Languages and Translation, has said: The distribution of students in the various sections of the college will begin as of next week and it will be done in accordance with the total grades of each student and the requirements of the sections.

Islamic Subjects at Start of Day

Dr Badrikan Muhammad Zaki, dean of al-Azhar Women's College of Commerce, has decided to change the time of the lectures on Islamic subjects so that these lectures are given at the beginning of the day. Dr Badrikan has also decided to apply the system of attendance and absence percentages to these lectures so that they can be given exactly the same attention by the female students as that given to accounting, management and economics.

Professors Donate Their Books

Dr Mahmud al-'Ukkazi, dean of Islamic and Arabic Studies at the Alexandria Women's College, has said: All the teaching faculty members have been appointed and the lecture schedules have been distributed to them. Moreover, all the vacant grades for teaching faculty members were filled before the start of the academic year. He added: The results of the acceptance of women students at the university town, which is attached to the college premises, will be announced next week. The town accommodates 600 students. Meals will be offered to all students at a token price of 5 piasters per meal.

Dr Mahmud al-'Ukkazi added: Every professor will donate 50 copies of his textbook to be distributed to needy students. It has also been decided that college female employees, as well as the students, will wear the Islamic uniform.

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CAIRO UNIVERSITY TO SUPPLY BOOKS TO STUDENTS AT COST

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 2 Nov 81 p 7

[Article by Karimah 'Abd al-Razzaq: "University Prints Books and Sells Them to Students at Cost; Generous Reward to Every Faculty Member Who Permits University to Publish His Scientific Work"]

[Text] It has been decided to offer a generous reward to every teaching faculty member who presents the original copy of the books he writes to the university to print them and sell them to students at cost. The deadline for the distribution of lecture mimeograph sheets to university students and for a weekly follow-up on the progress of studies at the colleges is 15 December. The absence of students will be taken into consideration in calculating the percentage of attendance required for sitting for examinations.

Dr Hasan Hamdi, president of Cairo University, has appealed to teaching faculty members to present the original copies of their textbooks adopted for students this year to the university administration for printing by the university printing press in return for generous rewards given to the teaching faculty members. At the same time, Dr Hasan Hamdi has asked the college deans to have the lecture files prepared by the professors so that the colleges may reproduce copies on the machines with which all the university colleges have been supplied. Dr Hamdi has asked that these files be presented no later than 15 December so that they can be ready for distribution to the students. Dr Hamdi has further said: The purpose of this measure is to guarantee that the student acquires university textbooks at a reasonable price and, second, to spare the professor the trouble and the hardship he encounters in having the textbooks printed. This is in addition to the fact that the rising cost of paper has caused outside printing presses to raise the price of book printing. This increase is reflected in the price of the book charged to the student.

Dr Hasan Hamdi has added that a large number of professors offers their books free of charge to students who are incapable of paying and that another large number of professors has already presented the original copies of their books to the university press, which is now printing them at set prices.

Dr Hasan Hamdi, president of Cairo University, has also said: I am following up personally several important matters, especially the transfer of students in accordance with the regulations established by the University Council.

Dr Hamdi added: As of this week, I will make surprise visits to the university towns and will share with the students their food and listen to their complaints and will, at the same time, punish any student who violates a university town's laws and regulations. I will also visit the university colleges and attend the meetings of their councils to hear the views expressed by the members of these councils regarding educational, academic and research affairs and other issues pertaining to the progress of the educational process in every college.

Yesterday, Dr Hasan Hamdi attended the meeting of the School of Medicine Council, which lasted 5 hours and in which the council reviewed the reports, proposals and opinions submitted by the heads of sections and evaluated studies at the school as of the beginning of the academic year. In its meeting on Wednesday, the day after tomorrow, the Cairo University Council is scheduled to review the reports presented by the college deans on the progress of studies in the past 2 weeks.

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AL-AZHAR TO LAUNCH BROAD RELIGIOUS DIALOGUES WITH YOUTH

Cairo AL-LIWA' AL-ISLAMI in Arabic weekly supplement to MAYJ No 17, 26 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Muhammad al-Zarqani: "Al-Azhar Enters Into Direct Dialogue With Students and Youth Groups; New Islamic Concepts Committee in al-Azhar Under Chairmanship of Grand Imam; Selection of Team of Professors and Scholars To Meet With Youth Everywhere"]

[Text] The venerable al-Azhar, in participation with al-Azhar University, has decided to enter into a direct dialogue with university youth and with the various groups to explain the sound concepts of the Islamic religion and to answer all the questions and queries on the minds of the youth.

A committee named the Islamic Concepts Committee has been formed in al-Azhar under the chairmanship of Dr Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahman al-Bisar, grand imam and shaykh of al-Azhar, to prepare for and to participate in the dialogue that will take place in a constant and open manner at the broadest level and in all governorates of the republic.

His Eminence Dr al-Husayni Hashim, secretary general of al-Azhar's Islamic Research Academy, has stated that the dialogue seeks to explain the Islamic concepts that concern society and that are prevalent among the youth. It also seeks to guide the youth to the right path, to unite the Muslims and prevent their division, to explain the issues that are the essence of the faith and subsidiary matters that are secondary in the Islamic Shari'a, to explain religious thought accurately, to demonstrate the sound method of interpretation, to outline the points of agreement and points of disagreement and (to show that the arguments of one sect cannot be applied to another sect).

One of the most important goals of the dialogue is also to speak frankly regarding some concepts of the youth.

The academy will publish a series of booklets to provide the youth and the preachers with the sound concepts of Islam and with Islam's opinion on various issues preoccupying the youth. The first booklet will be written by His Eminence Shaykh Mustafa al-Hadidi al-Tayr, academy member and chairman of the Interpretation and Hadith Committees.

The Islamic Concepts Committee is comprised of the grand imam as chairman of His Eminence Dr al-Husayni Hashim; Shaykh Mustafa al-Tayr; Shaykh 'Atiyah Saqr, member of the academy; Shaykh 'Abdallah Karim; Shaykh 'Abd al-Hakim Na'na'; Dr Muhammad Kamal Ja'far; Shaykh Muhammad Husam al-Din and Professor Jabir Hamzah Farraj as members.

Al-Azhar University Participation

His Eminence Dr Muhammad al-Tayyib al-Najjar, president of al-Azhar University, has stated that qualified al-Azhar University professors who are well versed in religion will be selected this week to be distributed to the various universities to conduct the dialogue with the students of these universities and to answer their questions and queries on various religious matters. Dr al-Najjar added that coordination will be established with the various information media to participate in this dialogue and to explain religion's opinions on all issues to the broadest youth base. Al-Azhar scholars will take charge of correcting and explaining a number of Hadiths that some people try to exploit in vague interpretations.

Dr al-Najjar has also stated that he is personally ready to receive youth questions and queries on any religious issues and to answer them until the convocation of these meetings is begun.

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SOME WHO CLAIM TO BE OF SALAF CREED MAY NOT BE TRUE MUSLIMS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 22 Oct 81 p 3

[Article: "Al-Salaf School: Who Are They and How Do They Think"]

[Text] The concerted investigations being conducted by the security agencies of elements of the terrorist organization have revealed that there is a group that follows the al-Salafi creed.

What is the truth of this creed and what is its relationship to Islamic thought?

His Eminence Shaykh Dr 'Abd al-Ghani al-Rajihi, professor of interpretation at the Principles of Religion College, says: To answer this question, a somewhat profound study of the sciences of the Koran, of linguistics and of Islamic philosophy is required.

There are those who are called the Salaf [predecessors], namely, the men of the Hejira [migrants with the prophet from Mecca to Medina] in the first Islamic era, and there are the Khalaf [successors], namely, the men who emerged in the late third century and early fourth century of the Hegira.

The division is based on their concept of the so-called "similar" in the venerable Koran. The similar pertains to God's words and qualities. Let us make things clearer: Many Koran phrases attribute to God "a hand above theirs," an eye or actions similar to man's actions, as when the phrases say: "The compassionate has sat on the throne." The phrases also attribute to God, may He be praised, emotions such as anger, vengeance or compassion.

These phrases were revealed to the prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, and the prophet's companions and followers read them very simply and clearly, understanding their intent without complication or philosophical exposition.

But it occurred to some people to wade into the issue of the "similar" in the venerable Koran during the time of Imam Malik. A man asked the imam: "The compassionate has sat on the throne--" how did He sit on His throne?

Imam Malik answered: "The sitting is known but the how is unknown. It is a duty to believe in it, asking questions about it is a heresy and you are an evil man."

So the Salaf are the followers of Imam Malik who say: We believe in the "similar" but we do not ask how it happens and we are certain that it is not permissible to describe God with the obvious. They are the ones who have interpreted the "similar" as being known and the "how" as being unknown, saying God knows His purpose best.

The Khalaf are also followers of the Sunna. But in their time, the freethinkers, the atheists and followers of the Greek philosophies, which had been translated into Arabic, emerged. To convince these people to follow Islam, a tangible meaning had to be used because these people used to say: How can we worship God with phrases we do not understand?

So the Khalaf in Islamic thought told those freethinkers and atheists that God's hand means power and that His eye means care.

Dr. al-Rajihi adds: But let it be known that the opinions of the early Muslim imams were scientific, accurate and practical Islamic opinions that have nothing to do with the adoption by the modern Salaf of radical political creeds and with the formation of groups that have their paramilitary organizations and their branches throughout the country, that have their own finances and that set up their centers, libraries and publishing houses.

The early Salaf did not form a group because Islam does not at all welcome intellectual fanaticism and because it hates such fanaticism. The prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, has prohibited such radicalism, saying: "My nation shall splinter into so many and 70 groups except one." They asked: And what is that one, O messenger of God?

Islamic intellectual 'Abd al-Karim al-Khatib says that the Salaf are the ones in early Islam described by the Koran as the close ones: "The early predecessors are the ones who are close [to God] in paradise."

Thus, the Salaf [predecessors] are the highest ideal of the Muslim. But the problem lies in those who nowadays affiliate themselves with the Salaf, and their claim may be right or may be wrong. However, names are names and have no weight except with faith and action. I may not say I am a Muslim if I do not follow the dictates of Islam. If there emerges a Muslim who claims he is like the pious predecessors and then proceeds to declare the Muslims infidels, then he is certainly not a Salaf and he does not belong with the Salaf. A Muslim is never declared an infidel for any sin except for the sin of setting other gods on equal status with God, may He be praised. The door of repentance and of acceptance is always open to whomever says "there is no god but God." [The Koran says]: "God does not forgive those who set up other gods next to Him and forgives anything else for whomever He wants."

Therefore, whoever calls for the migration of Muslims is not a Salaf. The prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, said: "There shall be no migration after the conquest. There shall be (good will) and struggle."

This means that migration is no longer a migration from Mecca to Medina, as it was in the days of the prophet of Islam, but a migration within the soul--i.e., the intention of a man to move from one state of the heart or of sin to a better state,

such as when he is a drinker or a gambler and resolves within himself to repent and to move to the sphere of faith in God. This is what is called the struggle of the soul and this struggle may be with good deeds, with donation of money, with thought and with calling for God.

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MEASURES TO COUNTER RELIGIOUS RADICALISM AMONG YOUTH OUTLINED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 22 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Lamis al-Tahawi and Hurriyah Husayn Ahmad: "Egyptian Youth: Where To; Issue as Viewed by Shaykh of al-Azhar and Minister of Religious Trusts; Shaykh of al-Azhar; Religion Can Never Be Source of Deviation; Minister of Religious Trusts: They Are Political and Not at All Religious Groups"]

[Text] The issue is now before the shaykh of al-Azhar and the minister of religious trusts.

His Eminence 'Abd al-Rahman Bisar, shaykh of al-Azhar, has said: The evils now occurring in our society are the result of religious deviation. We hold religion innocent of being the source of deviation and we cannot embroil the word "religion" in this terror. They are terrorist, not religious, groups.

Dr Zakariya al-Barri, minister of religious trusts, has said: The groups that have deviated in the name of religion are political groups and not religious groups at all.

The success of the radicals in infiltrating the minds of Egyptian youth who are thirsty to know more of the teachings of their religion is primarily the responsibility of the agencies for propagating the [Islamic] call, which are in charge of protecting the teachings of Islam from all intrusion.

To start with, His Eminence 'Abd al-Rahman Bisar, shaykh of al-Azhar, says:

It has been said frequently that the evils occurring in society now are the result of religious deviation. We hold religion innocent of being a source of deviation and we hold the principles of Islam above being an incentive for what has happened and what is happening among us.

In 1977, terrorism claimed Shaykh Muhammad al-Dhahabi as a victim. Since then, we have been examining the sources, manifestations and motives of deviation. But we cannot call it religious deviation and we cannot embroil religion in this terrorism.

Religion is security and peace and the deviation comes from terrorist groups founded on a terroristic basis. Religion is innocent of these groups. This is

why these manifestations must be discussed by sociologists, psychologists and economists, because each of these disciplines has something to do with the deviation of youth at an early age, before they become aware of the evils surrounding them.

A committee called the Islamic Concepts Committee has been formed and has met more than once to exert efforts to build and enlighten the minds of the Muslims and to warn them of this terrorism in our country.

His eminence the grand imam adds: We all need to stand united to serve our country and to lead it away from what is directed against it.

Responsibility for the religious protection of our youth from the infiltration of religious radicalism is a responsibility shared by many of the agencies in charge of propagating the Islamic call and of protecting the Islamic heritage. The Islamic Research Academy is one of these agencies shouldering this responsibility. Dr al-Husayni Hashim, secretary general of the Islamic Research Academy, says that "religious deviation is due to a lack of understanding of religion."

The fact is that there is religious knowledge and religious education.

The impact of religious education and religious knowledge is stronger than just teaching and we do have the opportunity to provide this education [as published].

Imam al-Ghazali, an authority on Islam, has said: "A baby is born like a pure blank page and the educators can mold him and implant in him the right teachings at an early age."

The importance of religious education at an early age and in the first stages of education thus becomes evident. When a student moves up gradually through these stages, he grows up with strong religious foundations; the falsifiers of religion cannot deceive such an individual and implant hatred in his heart in the name of religion because religion does not approve of transgression, be it transgression with words or with weapons or transgression in the heart.

The prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, has warned of such aggression in his words:

"For a Muslim to transgress against a fellow Muslim, against his blood or against his honor, is unlawful. It is considered a form of oppression for a Muslim to demean a brother Muslim."

The secretary general of the Islamic Research Academy adds that youth guidance is the responsibility of the home first and of the school second. This is why the various curricula taught to students must be reexamined so that they advocate hatred of atheism, of violence and of radicalism. Al-'Aqqad's book on fighting communism and curricula answering the various questions on the minds of the youth must be taught in the secondary schools.

In fact, a committee has been formed in the Islamic Research Academy under the chairmanship of the grand imam and with me as member to write pamphlets and

leaflets that deal with and correct all the misguided thought in the minds of the youth. This committee has been named the Islamic Concepts Committee. Moreover, the academy will redouble its efforts to produce books on the Sunna and the Islamic heritage so as to deal with religious matters and their relationship to secular matters and with the religious vacuum and to offer sound religious education to society, to the family and to the country.

But what arrangements has the Minister of Religious Trusts prepared to exercise its primary responsibility toward our youth?

Dr Zakariya al-Barri, minister of religious trusts, says that efforts to deal with the failure attributed to the state's [religious] call agencies started long ago and that training courses have been organized for the imams to meet with prominent Islamic intellectuals, including professors of al-Azhar, university professors and the ministry's prominent preachers. Annual tests are also held for the imams covering sound Islamic heritage books.

This year, an important subject, namely, that of Islamic religious values stipulated in the current Egyptian constitution, which is founded on many of the sound principles of Islam, has been added [to this training]. The ministry has also printed "Guiding Sermons," a book that contains a number of sound religious concepts from the time of the prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, to the present time. This book provides the advocates with new armament, in addition to what is already in existence.

The Ministry of Religious Trusts has also begun to deal with the problem of the shortage of imams and with the need of many government and private mosques for vigilant preachers. To deal with this problem, the ministry has initiated a number of measures that serve this aim, including increased recompense for preachers selected from among professors of al-Azhar, university professors, instructors at religious institutes and Arabic language and religion teachers in the Ministry of Education. The recompense has been increased so as to attract such preachers to the Islamic rostrum because attracting them will have a major effect on guiding conduct and on correcting religious concepts.

Dr Zakariya al-Barri adds: I do not believe that the groups that have swerved from religion toward hateful fanaticism and toward intimidation, threats, coercion and misconduct are groups that act on the basis of Islamic concepts. God, may He be praised, says: "Call unto the path of your God with wisdom and with gentle words and debate with them gently." God also says: "The good and the bad cannot be equal. Advocate gently and you shall find that a man who is hostile to you will turn into a warm friend. Only those who are patient and those who are gently fortunate have such gentleness." God has also told His prophet: "Speak to him gently, perhaps he will remember or will have fear [of God.]" [Loose translation of quotes from the Koran.]

All this means that no Muslim has over another Muslim any power other than the power of advocating with wisdom and with gentle words. A Muslim thus will have absolved himself and performed his religious duty within the bounds of good conduct and friendliness. If a Muslim does this, then it does him no harm if

people disagree with him. God, may He be praised, says: "It does you no harm (no matter who accepts or rejects your advocacy) if you follow the right path."

The minister of religious trusts asserts: To root out this kind of deviation, the Ministry of Religious Trusts is preparing a draft law banning any person from preaching or lecturing in its mosques unless permitted by the ministry to do so. This is because the Hanafi sect is one of the major sects accepted by the nation in practice. For the Friday prayers to be correct, it is required that they be led by the supreme head of the state or by whomever he delegates. If the imam is not the head of the state or whomever he deputizes, the Hanafi sect believes that the Friday prayers, which people perform at noon, are not correct. This is an alert action on the part of the Hanafi sect, which understood the issue [of prayer imams] in its own time.

The Hanafi creed emerged in Iraq, which at the time abounded with peaceful Islamic currents and other currents deviating either slightly or greatly from the essence of religion. This creed demanded of the Muslim [everyday] noon prayers that do not require [as published] instead of the Friday prayers that must have a public sermon to be correct. This creed has thus closed the door in the face of confused concepts and falsified facts and has not allowed free access to the rostrum to just any person, especially if the person is fully ignorant of Islam. Such ignorance exists at the highest educational levels that have not studied Islam alertly.

In the past, the Ministry of Religious Trusts, in accordance with the Hanafi creed, used to give its imams permission to lead the Friday prayers and to deliver the sermon to the congregations so that they would not be deprived of correct Friday prayers.

The minister of religious trusts adds: The radical groups started as Islamic groups opposing the communist organizations, which had been trying to dominate the nation's concepts and to falsify the truths of its religion with lies. At the time, the groups posed no danger but were rather serving a good cause. Then atheist and other ignorant fanatic elements were able to lead these groups to these mad actions which, I say, are rejected not only by every Muslim but also by every rational person, regardless of what intellectual creed such a person adopts from among the deluge of intellectual principles existing nowadays throughout the world.

The size of these groups and of their followers is negligible compared with the thousands of other youth and they hardly constitute much of a percentage compared with the thousands of other youth who follow the right path. Not one of those alleged to have formed the Atonement and Migration Group and similar groups is a Muslim scholar. At the same time, these people accept no word of advice or opinion from any specialized Muslim scholar. This means that this movement is a destructive political movement using religion as a mask for its objectives. Such a movement is not unique to Egypt and the press has reported that such organizations have been found in a number of Arab countries. This means that the scheme comes from outside the Islamic world--from the part of the world that is the sole beneficiary of creating intellectual confusion in religion and of sowing inter-Muslim religious sedition, Muslim-Christian sedition and inter-Christian religious sedition.

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CSO: 4504/60

NEW ACADEMIC REGULATIONS INTRODUCED FOR COLLEGES OF CAIRO UNIVERSITY

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 22 Oct 81 p 8

[Article by Labib al-Siba'i: "New University Examinations System to Be Applied This Year; Bimonthly Examination for College Students to Account for 30 Percent of Grades; Studies To Continue 30 Weeks, After Subtracting Holidays and Examinations; Experiment of Reinstating University Guard Has Proven Its Success in First Week"]

[Text] It has been decided to hold three examinations for college students during the academic year at the rate of one every 2 months, in addition to the final examinations. Thirty percent of the final grade for each discipline will be accounted for with these examinations.

Dr Hasan Hamdi Ibrahim, president of Cairo University, has stated that it has been decided that the colleges next week will set the dates for the periodic examinations and will announce them to the students. Excepted are the medical students, who will be given surprise tests without prior notification by the professors to measure the degree of the student's preparedness.

Dr Hasan Hamdi Ibrahim pointed out that the experiment of the university guard has proven its success as of the first week of studies and that the students have shown great response to the university guards who carry out their duty through the official university agencies. Dr Ibrahim also pointed out that the role of the university guard is restricted to notifying a college dean of a contravening student and that the dean will then take charge of questioning the student. He added that on Saturday, the day after tomorrow, the colleges will begin using attendance records for all students and that a student's guardian will be informed of the student's attendance every month. Dr Ibrahim also said that it has been decided that the student must attend at least 75 percent of the lectures for any subject before he is permitted to sit for the final examination in that subject.

It has also been decided that the student affairs offices will resume their work tomorrow, Friday, to issue to the students university identity cards that will enable them to gain entrance to the university campus.

As for new students accepted by the schools of medicine and to whom the new academic system applies, it has been decided that their studies will be held at the School of Sciences for 4 days and at the School of Medicine for 2 days only

[per week] now that the freshman year has been merged with the other academic years. As for repeating freshmen in the schools of medicine, they will study this year according to the old system so as to give them another chance.

The president of Cairo University also said that it has been decided to set the academic schedules during the year on the basis that the academic year shall not be less than 30 weeks, after subtracting the various holidays and time taken by the examinations.

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CONFESSIONS OF DEFENDANTS IN AL-SADAT ASSASSINATION REPORTED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 24 Oct 81 p 4

[Article: "What Have Plotters Said in Their Confessions?"]

[Text] The plotters said in their confessions, which have been obtained by AL-AHRAM, that they had been planning to spread chaos in the country, to declare a bloody Khomeyni-style revolution and to assassinate all the political, popular, executive, opposition and religious leaders.

'Abbud al-Zummar has said in the interrogations that his religious tendencies began in 1979 and developed through his family relationship with defendant Tariq al-Zummar and that he had agreed with Tariq al-Zummar, Nabil al-Maghribi, 'Abd al-Salam Farraj and other elements of the Islamic groups on the need to set up a Khomeyni-style state: On 11 October, I assigned a team from the organization to survey the positions of the central security vehicles in Cairo's streets and squares and to survey the State Security Investigations building in al-Jizah with the aim of planning to seize the weapons of these forces and to spread an atmosphere of fear among the citizens on the occasion of the referendum on the presidency. He has also said that President al-Sadat's assassination was an ordinary and necessary thing to achieve their goals and that the organization was still in the planning stage but that the government's arrest of a large number of the organization's elements in the wake of al-Zaqiyah al-Hamra' incidents and of issuance of the detention decisions made them hasten execution of the plan to assassinate President al-Sadat.

Nabil Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahman al-Maghribi (an employee in the Popular Culture Office) has said in the interrogation conducted with him that he became acquainted with 'Abbud al-Zummar in 1979 while frequenting the mosques and that the latter gave him his address and asked him to visit him. He further said that he visited 'Abbud at the beginning of 1981 and that the two discussed some religious matters and the need to unify the goal of the various Islamic groups. His meetings with 'Abbud al-Zummar then recurred at the rate of one every 3 days and their discussions centered on the need to rally the existing Islamic groups behind the idea of an armed jihad against the current regime and ruler, the need to organize a revolution similar to Khomeyni's revolution, the need to train the right elements in these groups in the use of weapons to fight the government in order to achieve this goal and the need to establish the qualities of piety, obedience and discretion as the basis for selecting these elements. These meetings were attended by Tariq al-Zummar, 'Abbud's brother-in-law and a student at the Cairo School of

Agriculture, who approved the concept of armed jihad and expressed his willingness to help them recruit others to join them.

The three agreed to form an organization, with 'Abbud in charge of planning and armament affairs, Tariq in charge of advocacy and recruitment and Nabil in charge of whatever tasks 'Abbud assigned him to gather information on certain places and installations, in addition to his major role of training organization members and preparing them militarily to confront the existing regime with force.

Nabil has stated that he was able to recruit a number of members, including al-Sayyid Mahmud al-Sayyid and Hasan 'Atif Ziyadah. Tariq al-Zummar was also able to recruit six members. Nabil also confessed that he had studied areas where the organization members could be trained on weapons and had chosen the area between kilometers 9 and 10 on al-Wahat Highway where the training was actually carried out. He also said that he received a Port Said submachinegun and a Czech pistol from 'Abbud al-Zummar, as well as sums of money to spend on the organization members whom he trained to use the submachinegun in the al-Wahat area.

Concluding his confessions, the defendant admitted that his modest religious education and his lack of knowledge and experience with religious affairs prevented him from assuming the leadership of this group and that he is not convinced of 'Abbud's leadership because he lacks the qualifications of a leader.

Hasan 'Atif Ziyadah (a graduate of the School of Arts) has said in his confessions that he joined the organization through Nabil al-Maghribi because of the agreement in their views and beliefs and that he tried, on the instructions of al-Maghribi, to recruit some religious elements and make them join the organization. He also said that he attended the theoretical training on the use of weapons at the house of Nabil al-Maghribi and also attended many of their meetings at various mosques. Ziyadah further confessed that his role was confined to training the organization members in karate. However, he has expressed his regret for what he did, declaring that he was the victim of deception by al-Maghribi and disavowing al-Maghribi and his followers.

Muhammad Muhammad Husayn (a driver) said that he joined the organization by way of Hasan 'Atif with whom he had become acquainted at al-Tawhid mosque in al-Wayli, that he attended the group's shooting training on al-Wahat Road and that he kept firearms belonging to the group at his home several times. He also confessed that he had been previously in possession of the black briefcase seized with his colleague Hasan 'Atif with weapons inside it and that he got rid of the briefcase by giving it to a neighbor when he sensed danger.

Karam Zuhdi, who led the Asyut operation and who was the official in charge of Upper Egypt, admitted that the organization sought to overthrow the regime and to set up a Khomeyni-style state, that leading defendant Nabil al-Maghribi defined for him the organization's method of operation, embodied in the use of force to realize the movement's goals, and that the organization had prepared for the Asyut incidents in order to spread chaos and to urge the citizens to support the so-called Khomeyni-style revolution to overthrow the regime by seizing some sensitive and vital positions in the state.

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DETAILS OF PLOT LEADING TO ASSASSINATION OF AL-SADAT DESCRIBED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 25 Oct 81 p 3

[Article: "Plotters Have Fallen and Their Dens Have Collapsed; Start Was in June and Shaykh Nabil Was First Thread; Where Did Members of Terrorist Organization Meet While Eyes of Security Men Were Watching Them Hour by Hour"]

[Text] The security agencies' decisive confrontation against the first terrorist attack of the radical organization in Asyut had its effect by foiling the terrorist scheme aimed at launching barbarous and bloody attacks in the governorate and proceeding from there to another governorate to arouse terror and fear in all parts of the republic. What is the story of this organization whose dens have collapsed and whose leaders and members--leaders and members who have assassinated al-Sadat and who had planned to create total chaos in the country--have been apprehended?

The security agencies began to move as a result of information concerning the suspicious activities of a person called Shaykh Nabil. The suspicious activity was focused in his attacks on the current regime and in extraordinary moves to purchase weapons and to train numbers of youth in weapons firing in some desert areas. Investigations conducted on Shaykh Nabil and his associates revealed that they had been engaged in illegal activity and in forming an underground organization.

Acting on the principle of the supremacy of law, the matter was presented to the supreme state security prosecution, which permitted a follow-up and kept a full record of the moves of the members. A plan was immediately drawn up to uncover the dimensions of the activity of this organization and to solve the riddle of Shaykh Nabil: Who he was, his moves, his contacts and the places where he met with his organization members.

Thus, it actually became possible to determine his identity and it was discovered that his name was Nabil 'Abd al-Majid al-Maghribi, a graduate of the College of Languages and an employee in the Popular Culture [office] in Bayt al-Sharabiyah.

By this thread, it was possible to discover three sites used by the organization members for their meetings, at which they hatched their plots:

Apartment No 5 in property No 9 on 'Afifi Street in al-Jizah.

Zayn al-Din mosque on Martyr 'Abd al-Mun'im Zayn al-Din Street in al-Haram.

Al-Anwar mosque in 'Arab al-Jisr area in 'Ayn Shams.

From this thread, the security agencies discovered more about the organization's real activities and found out that the meetings were not just for plotting but also for training on weapons and that the training place was located between kilometers 8 and 9 on al-Wahat highway where the security forces found the discarded shells of the ammunition used by the organization members in their training. The agencies also found the target boards in the area.

The security agencies' follow-up and surveillance of the moves of the organization members did not stop at this point. The agencies were able, moreover, to record, in voice and in photographs, three meetings between Shaykh Nabil and other organization members.

The first meeting took place on 21 September 1981 and in this meeting Shaykh Nabil expressed his desire for the speedy purchase of any quantity of weapons and his willingness to pay any sum of money in return. He also stressed the need to provide the members with training in areas other than al-Wahat.

The second meeting took place on 24 September 1981. In this meeting, Shaykh Nabil was seen examining a submachinegun he had obtained, along with some bullets, in a manner that confirmed that he had had experience in this regard, considering that he disassembled and reassembled the submachinegun at the meeting. Shaykh Nabil also expressed his willingness at this meeting to buy eight submachineguns of the Port Said type and thousands of rounds of ammunition and said that the first bullet fired from such a submachinegun would be aimed at al-Sadat's heart.

The third meeting included Shaykh Nabil and another person called al-Sayyid Mahmud al-Sayyid who were seen examining two submachineguns they had purchased.

At this point, the situation was assessed to determine whether it was best to continue the surveillance to discover new dimensions of this organization and its members. But it was decided to speedily arrest the organization elements for urgent considerations made obvious by the recordings, which showed the organization members' eagerness to acquire weapons at any price along with the weapons already in their possession; by the actions of the organization members, which were characterized by violence and rashness, especially their frank statements that the first bullet would be aimed at President al-Sadat; and by the timing of the request for more weapons, which came just prior to President al-Sadat's visit to al-Daqahliyah Governorate on 26 September 1981 and the subsequent convocation of the National Party congress on 28 September 1981.

The security agencies moved immediately, first arresting Nabil al-Maghribi and al-Sayyid Mahmud al-Sayyid while they were walking in a public street and carrying two submachineguns. The two tried to resist the security forces and al-Sayyid Mahmud attacked members of the force with a penknife he was carrying in the pocket of his jallabiyah, wounding some of the security men. The security men were compelled to fire at him to arrest him. A number of organization members were then arrested simultaneously, including Mahammad Husayn Ahmad, a driver; Fathi al-Sayyid Ibrahim, a machinist; and Mustafa 'Abd al-Latif, Khalid Ibrahim Suwaylim, Mustafa Mahrus Ahmad and Ahmad Gharib Mahmud.

A search of their dens, and the weapons and documents seized in them, confirmed the organization's terrorist activity and its scheme to assassinate President al-Sadat.

In the apartment in al-Jizah, a quantity of weapons and munitions, papers listing President al-Sadat's movements until 9 November 1981 and some photographs of a number of top officials were seized. It became known for the first time that this house belonged to 'Abbud al-Zummar.

In Zayn al-Din mosque in al-Haram, some clothes, including a soldier's uniform, were seized. Hasan 'Atif Ziyadah (M.A. in literature) was also arrested in an ambush laid for him at the mosque while he was carrying a suitcase containing a Port Said submachinegun, a pistol and a number of rounds.

Through the interrogation of Nabil al-Maghribi, all the dimensions, goals and schemes of the organization have become known. Al-Maghribi has said that he became acquainted with 'Abbud al-Zummar in 1979 and that they did not meet again until the beginning of this year when he visited 'Abbud at his home and discussed some religious matters with him. The meetings recurred, in the presence of Tariq al-Zummar, at regular intervals and the discussions centered on:

The need to rally the existing Islamic groups behind the idea of an armed jihad against the existing regime and of organizing a revolution similar to Khomeyni's revolution.

The need to train the right elements in these groups in the use of weapons in preparation for fighting the government to achieve this goal of revolution.

The need to establish the qualities of piety, obedience and discretion as the basis for selecting these elements.

Nabil al-Maghribi, 'Abbud al-Zummar and Tariq al-Zummar agreed to form an organization and divided the tasks and the roles among themselves, with 'Abbud taking charge of planning and armaments, Tariq taking charge of advocacy and member recruitment and Nabil carrying out whatever tasks were entrusted to him for gathering information on places and installations.

Nabil was also able to recruit some members, including al-Sayyid Mahmud Husayn and Hasan 'Atif Ziyadah, a graduate of the School of Arts. Tariq was able to recruit six persons and 'Atif was able to bring others into the group, including driver Muhammad Muhammad Husayn, with whom 'Atif had become acquainted while frequenting al-Tawhid mosque in al-Wayli.

President al-Sadat was familiarized at the time with all the details, along with a videotape exposing the dimensions of this organization.

The surprise that the terrorist organization had not expected was the arrest of large numbers of its members in the wave of the incidents in al-Zawiyah al-Hamra' and issuance of the detention decisions in the sectarian sedition incidents. The organization members panicked and decided to speed up their plans to assassinate a number of political leaders, especially President al-Sadat, and to move immediately to create riots in various places to incite the masses against the regime. They

rushed the execution of their scheme and committed the biggest crime known to Egypt in assassinating President al-Sadat and then followed this crime with the Asyut incidents.

They had planned more terrorist operations in all parts of Egypt. They had also maintained surveillance of the State Security Investigations building in al-Jizah with the aim of occupying it and had watched the positioning of the central security vehicles in Cairo's streets and squares.

But God's care and the vigilance of the security men exposed their plotting and their moves, decisively destroying their schemes in Asyut and arresting Karam Zuhdi, the operation leader and the organization official in charge of Upper Egypt, and all of the elements participating with him and killing or wounding 22 organization members. The security men also obstructed their terrorist schemes in the other governorates. On the day of the late president's funeral, the security men foiled the feverish efforts of organization members to make preparations for blowing up the State Security Investigations building in al-Jizah, which was to be carried out on the day of the referendum on the presidency. The actions were foiled when 'Abbud al-Zummar and three others were arrested while hiding in one of their dens in al-Jizah with large quantities of weapons and explosives in their possession. It has been proven that 'Abbud has a close relationship with Khalid al-Islambuli who led the operation to assassinate the president. Their dens then began to be exposed and members of the organization began to fall one after the other. The number of terrorists being interrogated at present has reached 256.

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CSO: 4504/60

BRIEF

STUDENT LOANS--It has been decided to allocate 1,750,000 pounds this year for loans to 62,000 male and female students of universities and higher institutes. Disbursement will be at the rate of 25 pounds per student at the theoretical colleges and 30 pounds per student at the applied colleges, with a maximum of 100 pounds in emergency cases. Coordination will be established with the Social Solidarity Fund for University Students to prevent dual disbursement, except in cases of utmost necessity requiring such dual disbursement. The Nasir Social Bank held a meeting attended by university vice presidents, university secretaries, the first under-secretary of the Ministry of Social Insurance and officials of Nasir Bank. It was agreed at the meeting to distribute the 1981-82 appropriation for university student loans, amounting to 1.75 million pounds, in the following manner: 200,000 pounds for Cairo University, 170,000 pounds for 'Ayn Shams University, 160,000 pounds for Alexandria University, 127,500 pounds for Asyut University, 220,000 pounds for al-Azhar University, 99,500 pounds for Tanta University, 114,500 for al-Mansurah University, 113,000 pounds for al-Zaqaziq University, 25,000 pounds for the Canal University, 110,500 pounds for Hulwan University, 44,500 pounds for Banha University, 77,000 pounds for al-Minufiyah University, 47,500 pounds for al-Minya University, 64,000 for private higher institutes, 131,535 pounds for the trade and industrial technical institutes, 22,748 pounds for private institutes, 12,686 pounds for the health institutes and 950 pounds for the Academy of Arts. Each university will divide its share among its colleges and will notify the Nasir Social Bank of the divided sums within a maximum of 10 days so that loan disbursement may start by the bank branches closest to the colleges or by a (mobile) bank. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 26 Oct 81 p 8] 8494

ASSISTANT MINISTERS OF INTERIOR--AL-MUSAWWAR has learned that a decree will be issued in the next few days appointing three first assistant ministers of the interior, namely: Maj Gen 'Abd al-Wadud Ayyub, Maj Gen Faruq al-Habashi and Maj Gen Ahmad Rushdi. A decree will also be issued appointing Maj Gen Sami Sa'd, Maj Gen Husayn Kamil Zaki and Maj Gen 'Abd al-Mun'im Jabir as assistant ministers of the interior. [Text] [Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2976, 23 Oct 81 p 11] 8494

STATE SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS CHIEF--Maj Gen Hasan Abu Basha, first assistant minister of the interior, has taken charge of State Security Investigations. Maj Gen 'Ulaywah Zahir, former director of State Security Investigations, has been transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic No 261, 25 Oct 81 p 3] 8494

JIHAN AL-SADAT'S LECTURES--Mrs Jihan al-Sadat has asked to be excused from giving her lectures this week to the freshman and sophomore students of the Arab language section of the Cairo School of Arts. Mrs al-Sadat teaches Arabic language and literature to the German section students. [Text] [Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 26 Oct 81 p 7] 8494

IRAN

BRIEFS

COMMUNIST CADREMEN APPEAR--A number of Bulgarian pilots have appeared in certain units of the Iranian Army and Iranian Air Force where they are engaged in training their counterparts. Furthermore, some advisers from the German Democratic Republic are now serving as cadremen in certain Iranian artillery units. [Text] [Paris LE POINT in French 7 Dec 81 p 75]

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